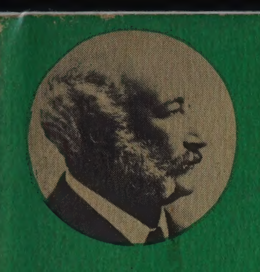
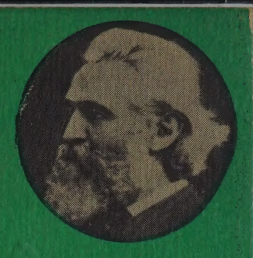
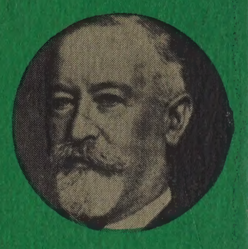




SAGA OF AMERICAN JEWRY



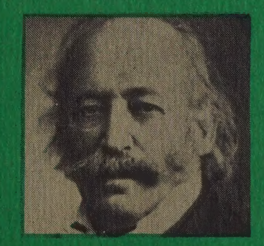
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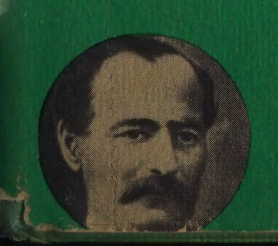
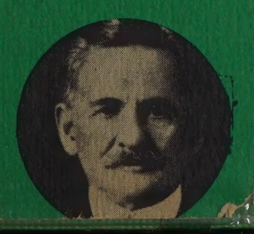
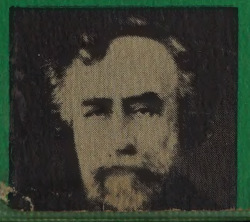
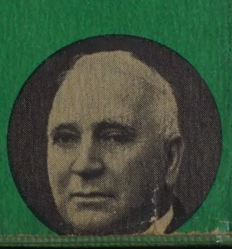
links of an endless chain

Sequel to JEWISH NOTABLES IN AMERICA 1776-1865

by HARRY SIMONHOFF





Illustrated $5.00

Saga of American Jewry 1865-1914

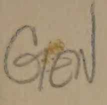
by HARRY SIMONHOFF

This volume is the second of a series of biographical sketches and follows *Jewish Notables in America* 1776-1865. This book begins as the mighty struggle between the states ends with victory for the Union. The early characters of this *Saga* were on both sides of the conflict. Some were native born and well integrated in the American scene, while others were immigrants who fled from religious intolerance or political tyranny.

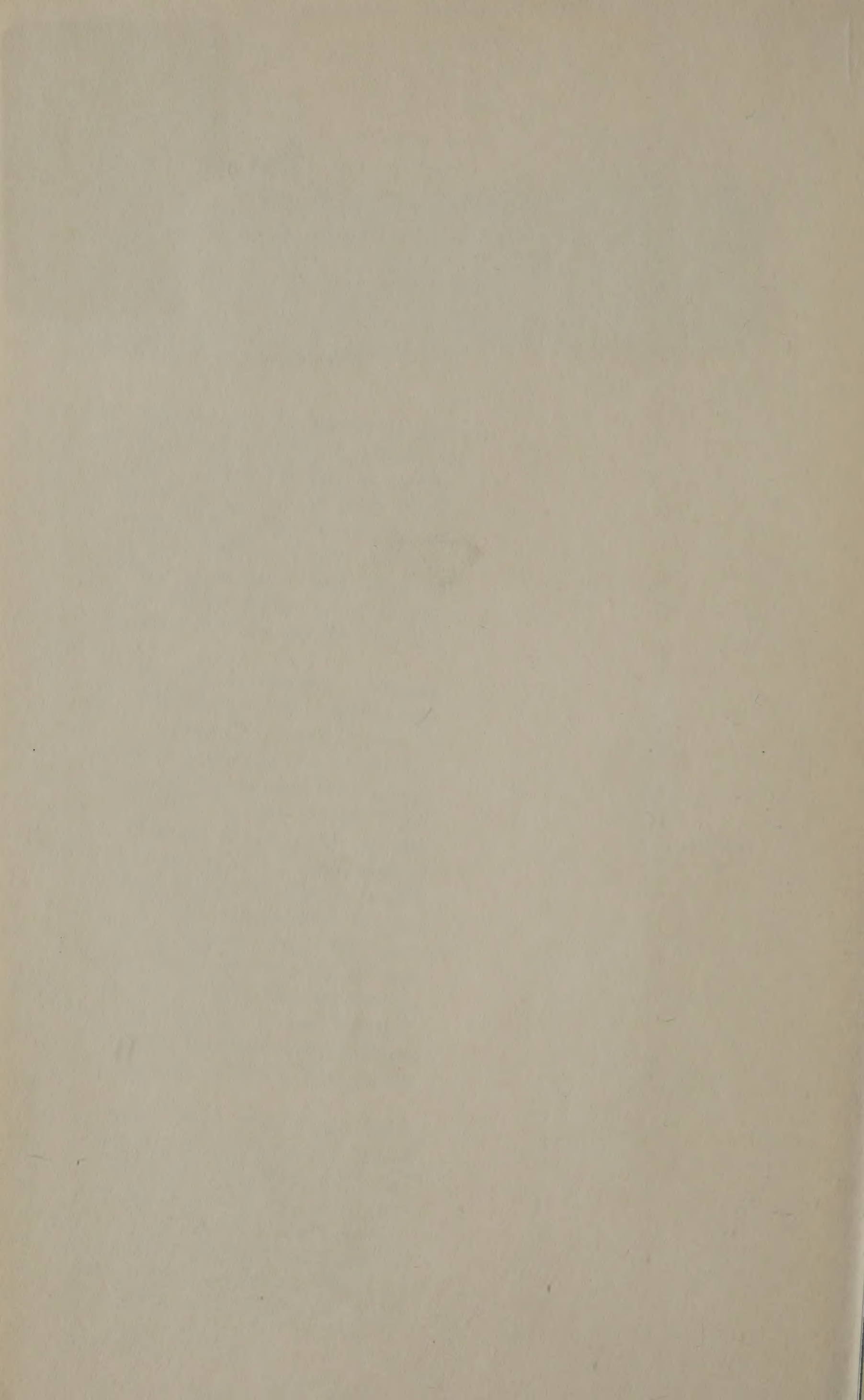
Soon new types began to appear. Among them were gifted individuals who made a signal contribution to post-war America as it emerged from agrarian economy to an industrial democracy such as the world had never seen. Some were builders of the great Wild West like the Goldwaters in Arizona or the Sutros of California. During this era, medicine in the U. S. A. was indebted to Abraham Jacobi and Simon Baruch. A most astonishing success story is the rise of the Guggenheims from poverty to the world's greatest producers of copper. The Seligmans, the Schiffs, the Warburgs made their impact upon banking and finance. The influence of Joseph Pulitzer and Adolph Ochs upon American journalism has never been surpassed.

It must be stressed that American Jews were not mere successful *entrepreneurs*. They also created new industries. Starting with the sweatshop they evolved the scientific manufacture of clothes for men and women into an art, thereby contributing to democratic living by abolishing class distinction in dress. Some of these daring enterprisers experimented with

(continued on back flap)



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SAGA OF AMERICAN JEWRY

1865–1914

Links of an Endless Chain

Sequel to
JEWISH NOTABLES IN AMERICA, 1776-1865

by HARRY SIMONHOFF

New York
ARCO PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

Books by HARRY SIMONHOFF

Under Strange Skies
Jewish Notables in America, 1776-1865
Saga of American Jewry, 1865-1914

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FOREWORD

This volume is the second of the series that began with *Jewish Notables in America 1776-1865*. It follows the same design in selecting the outstanding Jew of each year. Some reviewers wish to know by what criteria the "Notables" were chosen. For certain years the author had difficulties in finding any personality. At the time of signing the Declaration of Independence, the Jewish population scarcely numbered 2500 souls. Yet this small group made a significant contribution towards winning American freedom. Their efforts were apparently appreciated and perhaps influenced the framers of the Constitution to ban any religious test for holding public office.

The Jewish community remained stationary throughout the Napoleonic Wars, which halted emigration. After Waterloo there was a steady trickle, but sizeable numbers did not arrive until the failure of the 1848 Revolutions to bring democracy and freedom in Europe. In this limited group I sought the men and women who displayed creativity in Jewish life, or who contributed to the progress of the emerging American civilization. I came across devout and loyal Jews who were intent on preserving their heritage and found others who left the fold to seek complete assimilation into the environment. Even questionable characters have their place in history. The *meshumed* Frey, who became a missionary and seemed a menace at the time, apparently failed to make a single Jewish convert. And this also has its significance. Perhaps all were not "notable"; yet each person did reflect some form of Jewish activity or reveal a phase of the impact made by the recent ghetto-dwellers upon their Christian fellow citizens. From the very beginning individuals took part in public and political life.

By the time the War of Secession started the estimated number of Jews rose to 150,000. On both sides they served with distinction. In the Confederacy Judah P. Benjamin was Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Jefferson Davis. In the Union forces at least ten Jews held the title of General in some form.

The following half century marks the rise of American industry unprecedented anywhere. Jewish participation takes on dimensions. The manufacture of ready-to-wear garments for men, women and children they developed from the sweatshop stage to a scientific industry that produced good clothes of fashionable design for the great masses at reasonable prices. These Hebrew managers have been credited with deepening American democracy by eliminating the differences in dress that perpetuated class distinction in other lands. Jacobi, Baruch and other physicians contributed to American medicine, which a generation later attained the world's highest standards. The Seligmans, the Schiffs, the Warburgs reached a high plane in finance and banking. The theatre benefited enormously through the management, direction, taste and judgment of the Frohmans, Belasco and a group of lesser producers.

One cannot visualize music in the U.S.A. without the host of Jewish composers, violinists, conductors, impresarios, singers, players, critics and audiences. In heavy industry the Guggenheims became for a time the world's largest miners, smelters and refiners of copper and other metals. Former peddlers opened stores and transformed the retail business from haggling to the reliable and dignified shopping of the department store. Jews were also active and prominent in labor circles. Samuel Gompers built up the American Federation of Labor from humble beginnings to a power unknown to workers in all history. Hillman and Dubinsky directed their Unions into new channels that insured economic security together with social benefits. Perhaps the most astonishing Jewish performance was the creation of the motion picture industry in little more than a decade from penny kinetoscopes into a vast film empire that enlarged the horizons of millions throughout the world. And the list of accomplishments is by no means exhausted.

Thus the isolated sketches of *Jewish Notables in America* evolved from 1865 to 1914 into the *Saga of American Jewry*. This method of narrating the story of Jews in the U.S.A. may have its limitations. Yet the dictum of Thomas Carlyle, approved and repeated by numerous thinkers and writers, still holds: Biography is the only true history.

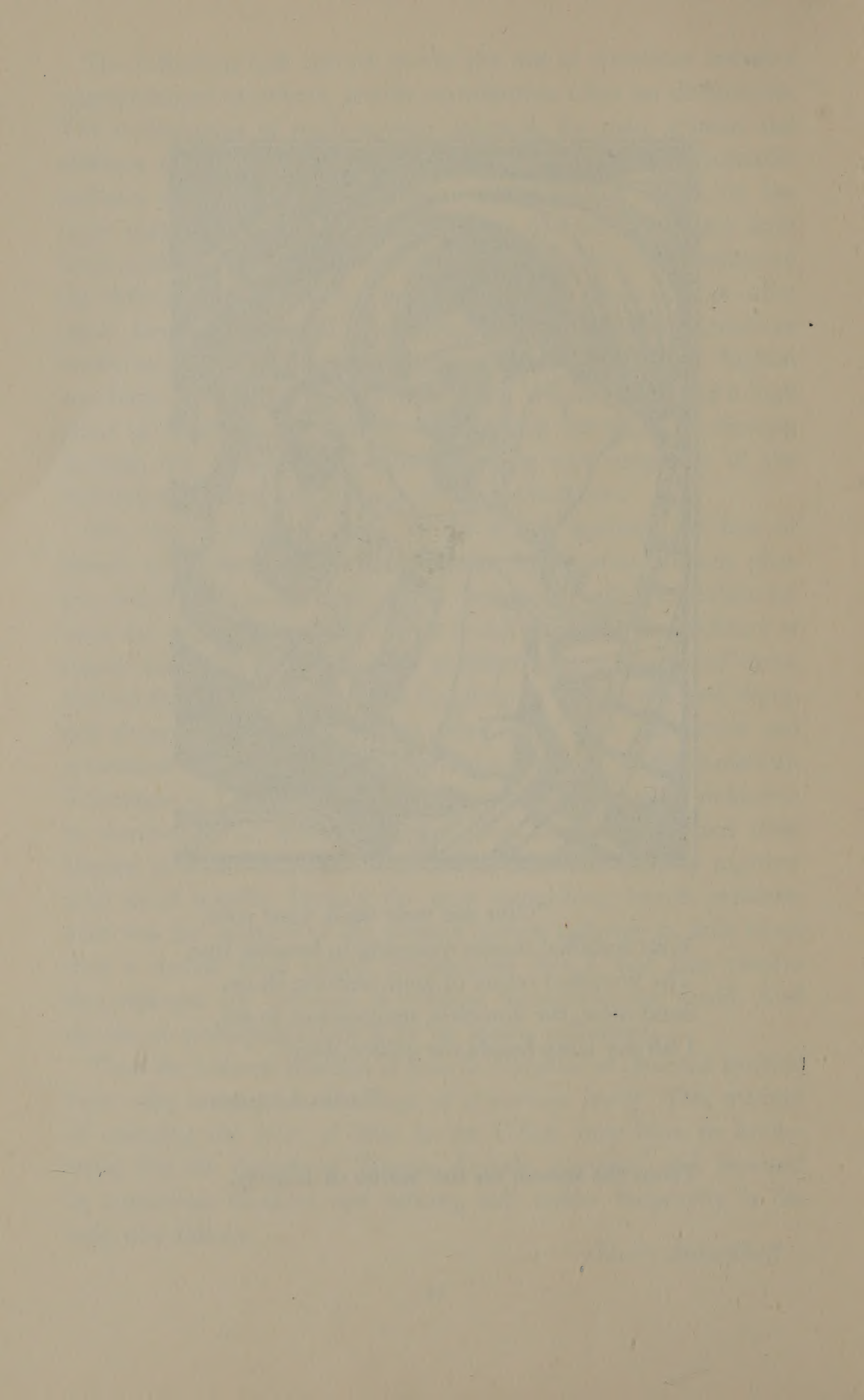
—Harry Simonhoff



"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

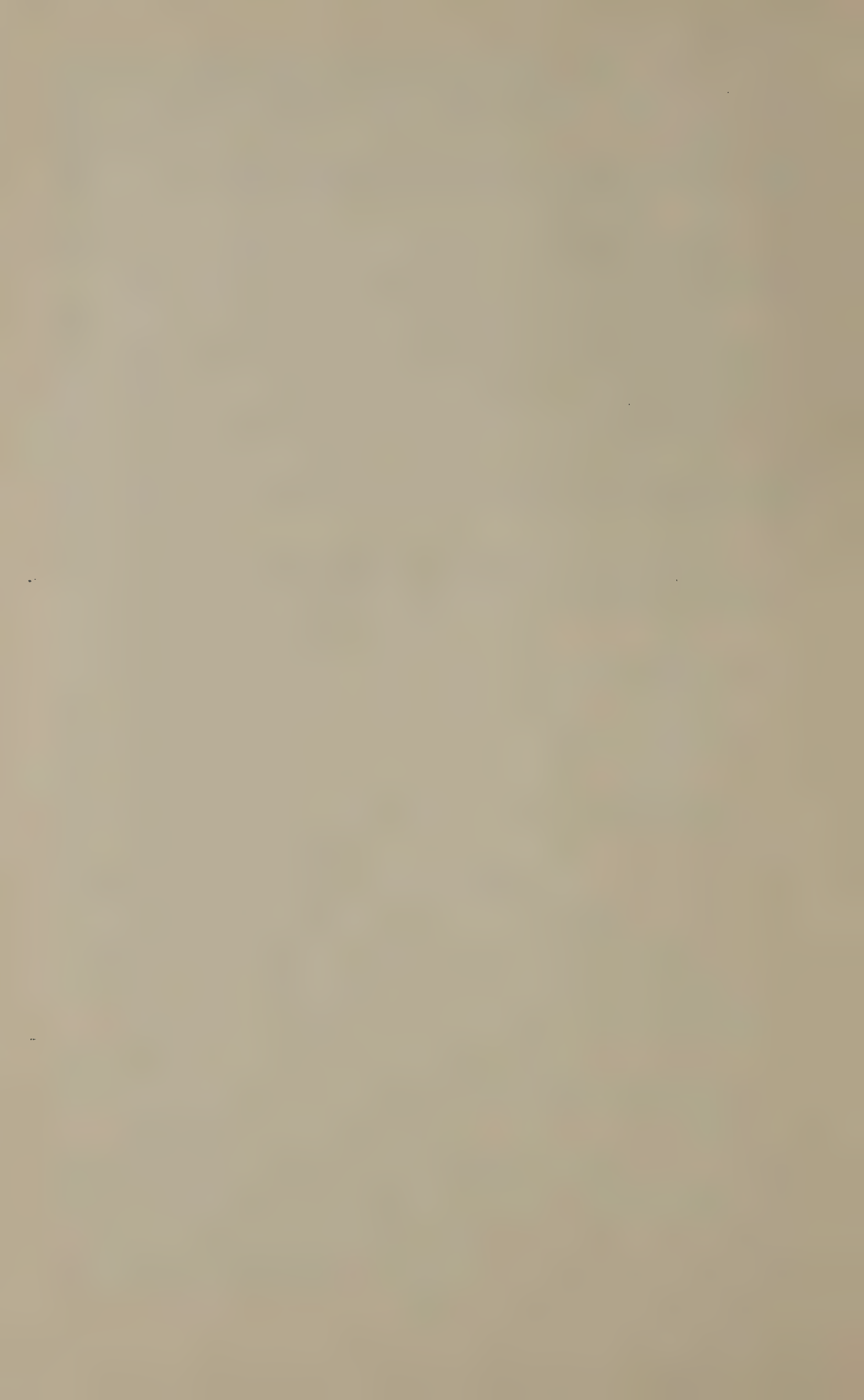
EMMA LAZARUS

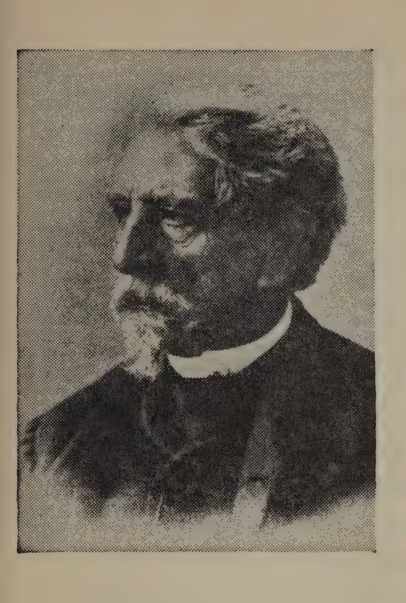
From the sonnet on the Statue of Liberty.



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1865

RAPHAEL J. MOSES

Confederate Commissary

THE WAR ended with the abolition of slavery in the defeated Confederacy. Sherman's march to the sea all but shattered the economic and political framework in Georgia. Everything was disorganized and the reorganization of governmental agencies had to start *de novo*. The legislative branch had the task of reconstructing the Commonwealth of Georgia before anyone knew the intent of the Federal powers, bewildered as they were by the assassination of Lincoln. To the first General Assembly of Georgia after the declaration of peace Raphael J. Moses was elected by the constituency of Columbus.

To cope with the difficulties ahead, the South sought its most competent men. Preference went to those who comported themselves with courage, loyalty and devotion during the desperate struggle. Raphael Moses filled these requirements and immediately became one of the leaders in the post-war Legislature. Service during a time of trouble was not his only qualification. Character, ability and conspicuous talents brought him influence and respect.

Raphael Jacob Moses, an American of the fifth generation, was

descended from Dr. Samuel Nunez, the King of Portugal's physician who escaped the Inquisition on an English boat and who landed in the new colony founded by Oglethorpe on the Savannah River in 1733. Heredity, perhaps, accounts for the strong romantic strain that remained a part of Raphael Moses throughout his 81 years. Born during the War of 1812, he grew up in Charleston, attended various schools—including Bishop England's Catholic institution—and felt confident enough at 13 to begin active life. Unmanageable at home, he wandered about and got jobs which he would throw up at the slightest provocation.

A fire-eater, he met any affront, even those not intended, with a challenge to a duel. While in Philadelphia, news came that South Carolina resolved to nullify a law passed by the U. S. Congress. This meant war, especially when Andrew Jackson declared he would enforce the Federal laws with the help of the Army and Navy. Immediately 20-year-old Raphael gave up his position, sailed for Charleston and joined the heavy artillery. The nullification issue settled, he tried business, traveled back and forth and married at 22. The disastrous fire that destroyed a part of Charleston in 1837 put him out of business. Whatever merchandise could be salvaged he shipped to Florida and sold to advantage in Tallahassee, capital of that state.

In Florida he ran into one of those many booms which helped to settle the state. The town of St. Joseph was sizzling with prosperity —lots 80 x 100 were selling at $5000. Raphael Moses obtained a position at $2000 a year as secretary of the Winneo and St. Joseph Railroad, the source of the town's wealth. After five years the railroad failed, and St. Joseph, the town, went dead. The house which he had tried to rent for $600 a year he now bought for $37.50. Without money or a business, he decided to become a lawyer. After studying for six weeks, he took the examination and was qualified for the Bar by his friends on the board. He opened an office at Apalachicola, 24 miles away, and would come home every week-end. But St. Joseph was fast becoming a ghost town. So when a neighborhood fire burned down his house, he took the $900 insurance and moved to

Apalachicola, which was enjoying prosperity and shipping 130,000 bales of cotton a year.

A flair for politics spread the reputation of Raphael Moses within the state. He was elected a Florida delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in 1847 and made an effort to have Lewis Cass, the Presidential nominee, commit himself on the right of Southerners to carry their slaves into the Western Territories. Failing to carry the motion, Moses together with William L. Yancey, the Alabamian who was more responsible than anyone else for the ultimate secession of the Southern States, protested against the party platform and the Presidential nominee. They walked out of the convention and Moses received a warm letter from John C. Calhoun commending his action. Apalachicola soon followed in the wake of St. Joseph. Not a single bale of cotton was shipped any more from the former busy town. Its business, its shipping, and its active citizens moved to Columbus, Ga. Raphael Moses followed, but not without trepidation about breaking into the legal profession of the growing city whose lawyers were very capable. His Florida friends and the contacts made while in the railroad proved invaluable. When a former associate made him attorney for St. Mary's Bank his future became assured. He rose to the forefront among the commercial lawyers of Columbus. An ardent secessionist, in 1850, when the leading politicians favored compromise, he could easily have entered the Georgia Legislature, but refused.

A fiery orator, Moses ranked with Robert A. Toombs, Howell Cobb and Alexander H. Stephens, later Vice-President of the Confederacy. With his law practice flourishing, Moses experimented in fruit and was the first to ship peaches and plums by stagecoach to Savannah, then by steamer to New York. On receiving $30 per basket, he extended his holdings until he had 20,000 trees, 100 acres in fruit, and a vineyard of 18 acres. His sales reached $7500 a year and he owned 47 slaves. But all this prosperity ended with the war. He went to Virginia to make final collections but did not return home. Instead he applied to his friend, Robert A. Toombs, now a General, for a place on his staff. Toombs refused and offered him

the post of Commissary. Although over age, Moses wanted combat duty and declined, but Howell Cobb persuaded him to accept.

His services were highly satisfactory. Promoted from Toomb's Brigade to Commissary of General Jones' Division, he was further elevated to Chief Commissary in Gen. Longstreet's Corps and given the rank of Major. He used ingenuity in procuring food and was able to keep the army in Tennessee supplied for six weeks after Longstreet had already planned to retreat for want of supplies. Moses mingled on the friendliest terms with the high command in the Army of Virginia. He sat at the mess table of Robert E. Lee, and during the retreat following the Battle of Gettysburg he lay near the immortal soldier who, wrapped in a rubber coat, was lying on the bare earth during a violent rainstorm.

In 1864 the food shortage was becoming acute. Farmers would not unlock their granaries; the shrinking value of the currency made speculation unavoidable. Moses applied to Longstreet for a furlough so that he could go to Georgia and talk personally with the farmers, many of whom he knew. The approval of the Commander-in-Chief was necessary. When Moses presented the document, Robert E. Lee said, "Major, I would approve it, but I really can't spare you." Necessity, however, forced him to yield.

In Georgia he found a reason for the scarcity of supplies. Commissaries were grafting on a big scale. They turned in a small portion of their seizures to the Army and sold the rest with big profits to themselves. Major Moses put a stop to this plundering, and the State Commissary resigned. The High Command immediately placed Raphael J. Moses in charge as the Confederate Commissary for the State of Georgia. This post he held until the war ended.

His three sons served in the Confederate Armies. One was taken prisoner and released in March, 1865; in the following month he surrendered together with Lee's Army at Appomattox. Major Moses was passing the Treasury in Richmond when an officer called out to him that a young man with his name had just been carried by in an ambulance. Moses thought the wounded youth might be his nephew, since he had given his son Albert the surname Luria in memory of

an ancestor. The Major entered the hospital and was shocked to see his own boy lying on a cot shot in the head. That night the 19-year-old soldier died without regaining consciousness.

After the surrender of General Joseph E. Johnston, Major Moses received and carried out the last order issued by the Confederacy. He held gold bullion in boxes for the benefit of the soldiers returning home, but in the disrupted government he was not equipped to distribute it. The hungry, desperate ex-soldiers were in a mood for plunder, and even for murder. General Toombs gave him ten trustworthy men, and Major Moses put the $30,000 worth of gold together with a keg of powder in a wooden building and placed a guard on the outside. He stayed up all night and the following morning moved the bullion on a freight train bound for Augusta. There were 200 soldiers on the train. The air was charged with peril. The elderly conductor whispered to the Major that the boys were going to "charge" the last car and divide the bullion among themselves. The train stopped at Barnett, Georgia. Major Moses squeezed out of the car, went among the soldiers, read his orders and quickly informed them that he would protect the gold which would only be used in feeding their fellow-soldiers and caring for the wounded at a hospital in Augusta. If they killed him and the guard it would be murder. If he killed them it would be self defense in carrying out a sacred trust. Several officers spoke up and convinced the men that they knew Major Moses would not touch a dollar except in carrying out orders.

If the gold could reach Augusta quickly, all would be safe, but the railroads were badly disorganized and the train for Atlanta was late. Again trouble was brewing and Moses was informed that a Tennessean would lead the men to attack the last car. The Major sought out the ringleader, showed him the orders and appealed to him to prevent bloodshed. The Tennessee man was moved to say "I don't think you will have any further trouble." Augusta was reached and Major Moses turned over the gold to the Union General who gave him a receipt and agreed to carry out the instructions of the Confederate Commander.

Passion for the *Lost Cause* lingered on, enshrined as a hallowed memory. The veterans carried themselved proudly, conscious of having participated in the nation's most glorious events. In his *John Brown's Body,* Stephen Vincent Benet, with a poet's insight, sensed the feeling of Judah P. Benjamin for the Confederacy in the line: "Because you are the South he fell in love with." This was especially true of Moses. When 79 years old he travelled in Europe to see his daughter. His visiting card even in 1893 still read: Major Raphael J. Moses, C. S. A.

Yet sacrifices and whole-hearted devotion did not eliminate religious bigotry. In 1878, the 64-year-old soldier offered himself for Congress. Georgia has given the nation many eminent persons of high character. But like weeds that grow alongside the most cherished fruit, demagogues also spring up, somewhat profusely, in the Cracker State. Such a politician appeared in the campaign and attempted, behind his back, to inject religion. Contempt for his antagonist and pride in his antecedents are reflected in the open letter to W. O. Toggle of Le Grange, published in the *Columbus Daily Times*. Raphael Jacob Moses writes in part:

"Your narrow and benighted mind, pandering to the prejudices of your auditory, has attempted to taunt me by calling me a Jew—one of those peculiar people at whose altars, according to the teachings of your theological masters, God chose that his son should worship.

"Would you honor me? Call me a Jew. Would you place in unenviable prominence your unchristian prejudices and narrow bigotry? Call me a Jew.

"I am not angered, but while I thank you for the opportunity which you have given me to rebuke a prejudice confined to a limited number distinguished for their bigotry and sectarian feelings, of which you are a fit exemplar, I pity you for having been cast in a mould impervious to the many and liberal sentiments which distinguish the nineteenth century."

Yet Moses did not win. Perhaps the snide anti-Jewish attack did not affect the campaign. But it is not without significance. In the

ante-bellum era, the State was ruled by an upper class which scorned to take advantage of vulger, religious prejudice. Probably Toggle foreshadowed the new type of demagoguery which would poison Georgia politics. He certainly displayed the spirit that produced a Tom Watson, a Leo Frank case or the rejuvenated Ku Klux Klan.

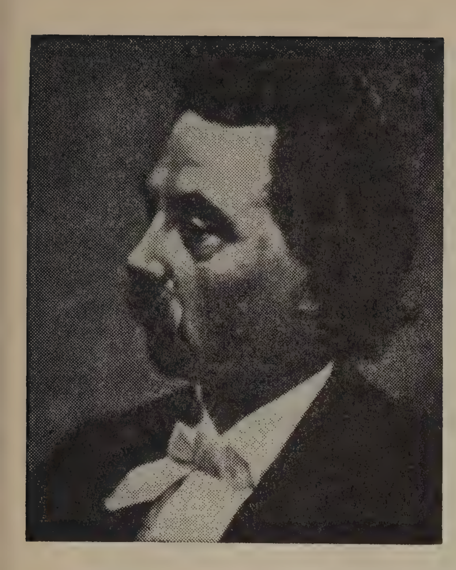
Raphael J. Moses, the outstanding Jew in the History of Georgia, was a product of the chivalrous Old South. The impact of his personality upon contemporaries is forcefully described in a letter published by *The Occident* of April, 1866 while he was a member of the first Legislature elected after the war:

"Hon. R. J. Moses, member for Muscogee, the generally acknowledged leader of the House, is a short, heavy-built Israelite—proud of his tribe—with raven hair, which the snows of fifty winters have had no power to bleach, and dark eyes, languid in repose, but which when aroused kindle with Promethean fire. His face is truly leonine in type, and in so far not unfitly mirrors his heart, which is the residence of will, and courage, and generosity, and all the many virtues. Being chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, he is often called to address the House, and never fails to command attention. He is the best speaker I have heard in either branch of the Assembly. Some of the qualities which make him more of the orator than the debater—a Pitt rather than a Fox —are an emotional nature, full of eloquent feeling, a copious and nervous diction, an ear for the music of words, an impassioned declamation, appealing more strongly to the heart than to the head, and a power of amplification wherein few men excel him. The cogency of his logic is in some measure eclipsed by the splendor of his rhetoric, and he seems to love the flower as much as the fruit * * *

"I take Mr. Moses to be an accomplished belles-lettres scholar, and I was surprised to learn that he devoted his professional life mainly to the practice of commercial law. Such a master of the passions, it would seem ought to give his attention almost exclusively to criminal advocacy. There he would be in his element and in his glory * * *

"As I have said, he is proud of his race. He perfectly understands the insensate prejudice existing against it, and which, to his honor be it said, he manfully confronts, by so conforming his conduct as to challenge criticism upon his public or private life. His love for that people is intense and very beautiful allowing nothing to divide his affection with, but his country—Georgia and those that love Georgia; for a truer, more patriotic heart than his never quickened its pulsations at the mention of liberty. * * *

"In social life his genial qualities shine in most attractive perfection. After making the best speech of the day at the Capitol, in the abandon of social hilarity at night, in his room, he can tell the best story of the session. * * * In short, he is the man of all circles, and emphatically the pride of his own."



1866

MARCUS OTTERBOURG

Almost Saved an Emperor

IN 1827 Marcus Otterbourg was born in Bavaria. This kingdom had not yet thrown off the shackles of feudalism. Liberal innovations introduced by Napoleon were revoked when the reaction set in after Waterloo. Teutomania on the lower level equated the Holy Alliance in high diplomacy. In Bavaria, as in Prussia, the former thirty different statutes regulating the life of Jews were reintroduced. Hundreds of regulations from past centuries retained their force as unwritten law. In such an environment there was little reason for remaining in Germany.

A member of a large family, Marcus mastered the trade of cap making. He soon left his step-fatherland and joined his brother, a physician in Paris. But he did not follow his trade. Possessing a gift for languages, the self-educated Marcus supported himself as a teacher. He taught French in England and attempted to teach English and French in Mannheim, Germany. Slowly he came to the conclusion, with thousands of others, that America was the true land of freedom as well as opportunity.

Marcus Otterbourg offers an example of Jewish adaptability. Be-

fore the Emancipation Era, few Jews had formal education and still fewer could get training in skilled occupations or learned professions. Yet they would succeed under the most trying conditions—often better than their descendants under favorable circumstances. This caused Nietzsche to observe that Jews stand adversity better than prosperity.

In Wisconsin, Marcus at first operated a vinegar distillery, but soon drifted into journalism. Reporting the sessions of the state legislature gave him insight into American politics. He met a fellow German immigrant, young Carl Schurz, who subsequently made his mark in American history. They became friends and together joined the newly formed Republican party. Among his political acquaintances in the West, Otterbourg was especially impressed with tall and lanky Abe Lincoln, of whom he said, "A more kind hearted, more noble minded and patriotic man never graced the earth."

With his party in power, Otterbourg moved to Washington as news correspondent. Here he made a good impression. Handsome, 34 years old, a linguist with a good mind and charm of manner, he seemed cut out for a diplomatic post. In 1861 he was appointed U. S. Consul to Mexico and remained there throughout the Civil War that was threatening to tear the Union asunder.

But Mexico was hardly more peaceful. Internal disturbances were leading the country to anarchy. The lives of foreigners were endangered and their property was liable to seizure. Britain, France and Spain united in a tripartite coalition and sent a joint military expedition into Mexico. Only the War between the States prevented Lincoln from sending in a military force. Britain and Spain soon withdrew their soldiers, but the French remained.

Napoleon III thought he saw a golden opportunity to intervene in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. Ordinarily he would not have dared to flout the Monroe Doctrine. But with the U. S. A. divided and each half seething with bitterest hatred against the other, the French dictator schemed to become arbiter in the affairs of Latin America. This minor Napoleon selected a Habsburg prince as Emperor of Mexico and maintained him by force with his French army.

The Austrian Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, truly a knight-errant out of a medieval romance, evidently did not understand the Machiavellian cunning that made him a dupe of power politics. With the best of intentions, he really thought Mexico needed him; he could neither understand nor cope with the violent animosity of Juarez and a majority of the nation.

The Mexican Emperor was safe as long as the French forces supported him. But with the Civil War ended, Napoleon shrank from antagonizing the victorious Union with a large army of seasoned veterans, hardened by numerous battles and under able commanders. He withdrew the French forces and left Maximilian to the mercy of his enemies.

Here was a consular post sufficient to try the skill of the most experienced diplomat. Otterbourg occupied a strategic position. The Minister appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate hardly showed his face in Mexico. Louis D. Campbell remained most of the time in New Orleans and left everything to the Consul in Mexico City. Evidently such was the secret wish of Washington, which had recognized Jaurez as president though he was only the leader of a guerrilla opposition. Maximilian held the capital. If the U. S. Minister presented his credentials to the Emperor it meant recognition. Secretary of State Seward was playing a highly subtle game. Somehow, Minister Campbell was never present. All his duties were performed by the Consul. Otterbourg acquitted himself with real credit. He had the confidence of Maximilian and the respect of the Juarez opposition. And since the U. S. was the only power that Mexico really respected, the popular Consul was in a position to protect not only Americans but other foreigners residing in Mexico City.

The Consul sensed the desperate situation of Maximilian and decided to warn him. At the interview the Emperor switched over to German and invited the American Consul to speak freely. Otterbourg presented frankly the peril that threatened and urged him to leave Mexico. Anxiety for Maximilian's life caused Otterbourg to bypass diplomacy and use simple, cogent arguments. He honestly

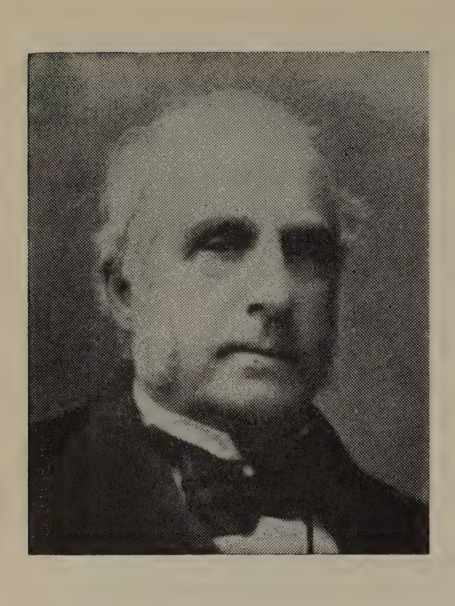
declared that since Maximilian would never have come without the French army, he could not maintain his position now without French protection and that since Napoleon had abandoned him he had neither the duty nor the obligation to remain. Impressed with Otterbourg's sincerity, the former Archduke revealed his inner feelings. It was simple enough to board a ship and reach a haven of safety. But what about those Mexicans followers who stood loyally with him? What would happen to them if their Emperor sought safety in flight? No, he must remain. If he could not save his loyal subjects, he could die with them. Quite a contrast from the decision made after Germany's defeat in World War I by Kaiser William II who, after the defeat of his armies, fled to Holland and amused himself cutting down trees at Doorn.

Maximilian, who surrendered on May 15, 1867, was tried and condemned to die. Only the intervention of the U.S.A. could save him. It is astonishing that during such a critical period the American Minister should be idling away his time far from his post. Seward ordered Campbell to Mexico City, but the latter found some excuse to remain in New Orleans. Finally his resignation was demanded and accepted. The Secretary of State now pressed for the promotion of Otterbourg in Campbell's place. But the President hesitated while the hourglass was running low on Maximilian's life. On June 21, 1867, Otterbourg received notice of his appointment as Minister to Mexico. Two days earlier the Emperor had been executed. To his dying day Otterbourg firmly believed that had the dispatch arrived three days earlier, he could have saved Maximilian's life. Popular as he was with the Juarez faction, he could not as Consul command the prestige and power of a Minister in voicing the wishes of his Government on a matter of such grave importance.

Otterbourg's appointment had to be ratified in the Senate. It came during the critical time after impeachment proceedings against the President had failed. The Senate, in no mood to approve any recommendation submitted by Johnson, took no action and recessed. Of course, the President's appointment could stand in the interim until the Senate acted. Instead, Johnson appointed General McClernand

whom the Senate had rejected. It appears that Andrew Johnson was the only U. S. President to harbor anti-Jewish prejudice. Only W. H. Seward, possibly the ablest Secretary of State in all American history, seemed to understand and appreciate the delicate and difficult assignment of Marcus Otterbourg, who represented a country that would not recognize Maximilian as Emperor yet was able to discharge his grave responsibilities with ability and skill.

The ex-Consul was glad to return home. After a well merited rest, he took up the study of law and practiced successfully in New York until his death. For nine years he served as Justice in the Yorkville Police Court. Without formal training, Marcus Otterbourg acquitted himself creditably in several callings. His reports from Mexico to the State Department are written in a lively style and present a vivid picture of political and economic conditions during his consulship. They also reveal his problems in opposing the forced loans demanded by Mexican officials of American business interests. During the perils and food shortage of the siege and blockade of Mexico City, he undertook the task of feeding his countrymen and protecting foreigners. He also played a prominent part in the negotiations that surrendered Mexico City to the forces of Benito Juarez.



1867

PHILIP and EUGENIA PHILLIPS

Southern Loyalists

THE GIFTED Philip Phillips was in a peculiar position to play an important role in the history of his country during its most turbulent period. But the temperament of his wife checkmated the career that ability and circumstances seemed to chart for him. Both left their mark but underwent some needless suffering that could have been avoided.

Philip was born in Charleston during that city's "Augustan" period in 1807. He attended the private school of Gates and later that of Isaac Harby, the critic, playwright and journalist who started the first reform movement in American Judaism. When fifteen, he entered the Military Academy of Captain Partridge at Middletown, Conn., which was highly esteemed in the South. It is possible that those three formative years influenced him for life. At no time during the wildest hysteria did Phillips ever waver in his set conviction that nothing could ever justify the secession of a State from the Federal Union.

When a pupil at school, the boy attracted the attention of a prominent lawyer and scholar with his recitation of Shakespeare. John

Gadsden placed his hand on the student's head and said, "My son, you should become a lawyer." When 18-year-old Philip returned from the Military Academy, he saw Gadsden on the street and reminded him of the incident. Philip declared he was now ready to follow the advice of Gadsden, who had become U. S. District Attorney, and wished to read law in his office. Gadsden consented, and three years later Phillip was admitted to practice.

Charleston started to decline in prosperity. An increasing number of young men began leaving to make their careers elsewhere. Philip chose Cheraw in Chesterfield County, largely because his bachelor uncle lived there. Soon he became an active practitioner "riding the circuit," arguing cases at the different county seats where the judges held court as was the custom for lawyers.

Congress in 1828 passed a Tariff Law and amplified it in 1832. The high cost of manufactured goods for an agricultural economy was driving South Carolina to desperation. Sentiment for nullifying these tariff measures culminated in a convention called at Columbia to take action. Yet all South Carolinians were not swept away by the current. A small determined minority of Unionists attempted to stem the tide. Active in this group was young Phillips, elected to represent Chesterfield County. The convention passed the Nullification Resolution, which led hot-tempered Andrew Jackson to threaten South Carolina with his Federal forces. Fortunately Henry Clay intervened with his talents for compromise. The Tariff Law was relaxed, but South Carolina still had to rescind its Nullification Resolution. Much bitterness had developed in the state, the Nullifiers regarding the opposing minority as nothing less than traitors.

Phillips had taken a significant part in the convention and, though but 25 years old, was regarded among the leaders of the well-organized minority. The Legislature met in 1834 in a tense atmosphere. The leaders wished to abolish the Nullification Act and effect a compromise that would reconcile the bitter antagonists. The Unionists were in their seats in the State Capitol, and the galleries crowded with men and women. All eyes turned to the large majority of Nullifiers as they walked in. Their leader, the distinguished General

James Hamilton, beckoned to Phillips, and they walked out to the Governor's office. The Governor told him of the difficulties that arose in the caucus in the way of compromise and reconciliation. It was decided to stage a full dress debate to be followed by a vote rescinding Nullification. He hoped that the measure would pass. He wanted Phillips to abstain from the debate, but as soon as the vote was taken he should arise and make a plea accepting the peace offering and congratulating the country on the resumption of harmony. The young lawyer hesitated and pleaded his youth. But Governor Hamilton insisted that he was the man for the job. The debate was violent, yet the measure passed. Immediately Phillips rose and delivered a short, impassioned speech. As he concluded, deafening cheers broke out, women waved their handkerchiefs and men their hats. The tension was broken in a flood of emotion. Recent enemies embraced each other, relieved that the danger of war with the Federal Union was averted.

In Charleston Philip married the high-spirited 16-year-old Eugenia Levy. After serving in the second legislative session, he was induced by Col. Thomas Williams, a fellow member and attorney, to settle in Mobile, Alabama, a place booming with prosperity. The young couple traveled on the longest railroad then in existence, 136 miles from Charleston to Hamburg, S. C., then by stagecoach for seven days and nights to Montgomery, thence by steamer on the Alabama River for seven days longer to Mobile. The office rent of $1500 seemed preposterous until he began to take in large fees from his rapidly growing practice.

By 1840 Philip Phillips prepared and published a Digest of Decisions of the Alabama Supreme Court, the first publication of its kind. The demand justified a second edition in 1846. He was elected to the Alabama General Assembly and a delegate to the Democratic convention that nominated Franklin Pierce for President. Without seeking the office, the State Convention nominated him for Congress. His election seemed a foregone conclusion when strong opposition developed unexpectedly. The Code of Laws had just been published, and through an oversight the printer left out the item "100 bushels

of corn" from the list of articles exempt from the execution of a judgment. Throughout the district handbills were distributed naming Phillips the enemy of the poor man. Soon corn was for sale everywhere. No amount of denial by fellow legislators, or the printer's assurance of a mistake in his shop, would satisfy the voters. On the night of the election, Phillips went to bed consoling himself that his economic condition would be better if he remained home and attended to his busy practice. After midnight he was awakened by the clamor of his friends rejoicing in his victory. When his term expired he was unanimously designated for reelection, but he refused.

Living in Washington opened up a new vista. Successful in his pleas before the U. S. Supreme Court, he foresaw good prospects in the National Capital. He soon conceived the idea of a Court of Claims, with judicial powers and exclusive jurisdiction, and published a series of articles advocating its organization. Phillips had the satisfaction of seeing this court arise in 1859, sorely needed for the administration of justice and due solely to his efforts.

The future seemed clearly charted. Washington offered the best arena for his abilities. Here he could be a lawyer's lawyer representing brother attorneys throughout the land having cases in the Supreme Court. But day by day the political situation was getting darker. The election of Lincoln was followed by the secession of the Southern states. Then came the attack on Fort Sumter, the defeat at Bull Run with the danger of Washington falling to the Confederates. Tempers were frayed, families divided and, with the capital full of spies, every one became suspect.

One morning a band of Federal detectives invaded the Phillips' home. Every one present, including Philip Phillips, was placed under house arrest. But the chief target was the mistress of the household. The government men remained guarding the house inside and outside. Phillips was soon released, but his wife Eugenia, her two daughters and sister Martha were removed to the attic of another house, the home of a fearless, ingenious Confederate spy, the notorious and fascinating Rose A. Greenhow. Held incommunicado for three weeks, they suffered the lack of all physical comforts. The coarse

treatment of their jailers and apprehensions for the future intensified their agonies.

The intercession of Edwin M. Stanton, later Secretary of War in the Lincoln Cabinet, Justice James M. Wayne of the U. S. Supreme Court and Reverdy Johnson, Representative from Maryland brought about their release. The friendship of these prominent men helped Phillips obtain from the Secretary of State, William H. Seward, permission to cross the border and take his family South. Gen. Winfield Scott permitted him to take with him $5000 in gold and directed an officer to furnish a steamboat at Fortress Monroe. Under a flag of truce, this boat started out in a raging storm. The captain advised against sailing, but the Phillips family found the inhospitable elements easier to bear than the treatment experienced at the hands of their fellowmen. They were handed over to a Confederate boat. After buffeting the winds and the waves for an hour, with great danger of capsizing and actually losing their hats and cloaks, they landed on firm Confederate soil.

The Phillips family set out on their journey overland to distant New Orleans. The story of the Federal detention had gotten through the Confederate lines. In many places the family was toasted and honored, people listening open-mouthed to their treatment by the Federals. In Richmond, Mrs. Jefferson Davis invited Eugenia to spend a pleasant evening at her "White House." The family finally reached New Orleans, expecting quiet, peace and safety in the largest and richest city of the Confederacy, far away from the booming cannon.

From this distance of time, we can only wonder at the cause of Eugenia's arrest and rough treatment. Was she a spy or agent for the Confederacy? There were genteel and cultivated women who did not hesitate to serve their native Southland by espionage. Like the dare-devil Rose Greenhow, Eugenia was high spirited and ardent to the point of hysteria in her Southern devotion. Both women were friends and knew how to outwit their guards. While Eugenia was packing for the journey South, Mrs. Greenhow passed, escorted by two soldiers. She threw a ball of yarn into the Phillips home, remark-

ing quite casually that the ladies would like to finish their knitting with the yarn they left at her house. Eugenia delivered the ball to Jefferson Davis; it contained a message in code.

New Orleans was taken by Commodore Farragut and placed in charge of Gen. Benjamin Butler, a cruel, profane, incompetent and deceitful vulgarian, who stopped at nothing to achieve his purpose. Eugenia Phillips remained indoors. Remembering the sufferings she had undergone in Washington, she refrained from any act that might bring on the hated enemy. But she could not hold out for too long.

One morning a soldier brought an order for Eugenia to appear before Gen. Butler. Her husband went along and heard "Beast Butler" roar at his wife, "You are seen laughing and mocking at the remains of a Federal officer. I do not call you a common woman of the town but an uncommonly vulgar one, and I sentence you to Ship Island for the War." The delicate, cultured lady was taken to a narrow sand-bar on the Gulf of Mexico. Ship Island, without trees or a blade of grass, swarming with mosquitoes and flies, stifling hot in the enervating humidity, is reminiscent of Devil's Island, later celebrated as the prison of French Captain Dreyfus. Denied communication with any one, she was served the coarsest of soldiers' rations and given salt water, rendered "drinkable" by the sand. Eugenia somehow survived brain fever and after several months was released. On reaching home, the servant closed the door in her face and fled, believing she saw the ghost of her mistress. Eugenia entered, began screaming, fell down unconscious and suffered a nervous breakdown. Such a price she did not consider too high to pay for her loyalty to the Confederacy.

Again Philip Phillips was able to obtain a passport to enter the Confederacy and the family reached La Grange, Georgia, where Eugenia had a brother. Philip was retained in several important cases and received a fee of $15,000 in Confederate money, which he invested in 50 bales of cotton and stock in a coal mine that proved of little value.

After the war, the Phillips family returned to Washington. The

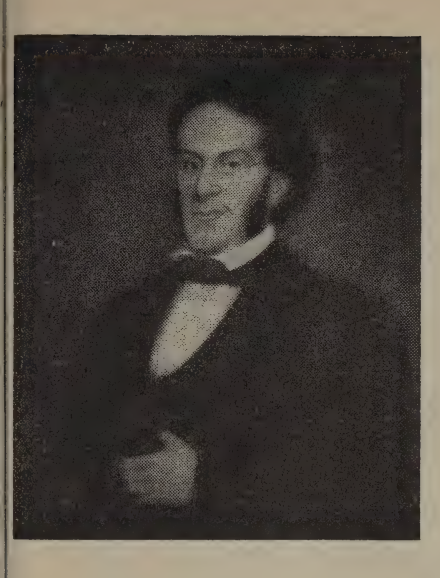
feeling against Southerners was such that he practiced exclusively before the U. S. Supreme Court. He became one of the leading lawyers in the country, perhaps the most successful of his generation, and appeared in more than 400 cases before the highest tribunal of the land. At his death, high tributes were paid to his memory by the Bar of the Supreme Court. His career was pointed to as "a model for citizens, for statesmen, for lawyers and for judges."

Somehow one feels that Philip Phillips missed his destiny. In the North there were no counterparts to Judah P. Benjamin or David L. Yulee. Lincoln with his strong leaning towards Southerners who believed in the Union was anxious to utilize them. He was largely responsible for the ill-educated, somewhat uncouth Andrew Johnson of Tennessee becoming Vice President.

The Phillipses did not disclose a warm attachment to their coreligionists, even though they never forsook Judaism. Moving about in the troubled era before and during the war perhaps prevented such close association. After 1865 these completely integrated Americans could hardly feel comfortable among the foreign-born, German Jews in Washington. Yet in his youth Philip Phillips had acted as secretary to the Reformed Society of Israelites in Charleston. In New Orleans he helped dedicate a synagogue. In 1857, heading a delegation, he protested to President Buchanan against the treaty with Switzerland that discriminated against American citizens of the Jewish faith.



EUGENIA PHILLIPS.



1868

FRANKLIN J. MOSES

Chief Justice of South Carolina

All minorities take pride in a fellow member who attains high place in public life. But in the Jewish case it is not mere clannishness. It is largely due to the peculiar status that Jews occupied for 15 centuries—in fact since Christianity triumphed. Immediately the Jews were declassed as citizens of the Roman Empire. Excluded from civic and military honors for so long a period, they naturally became *koved* hungry.

Therefore it seems strange that they should ignore the first Jew to serve as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in any American State or foreign country. This paradox might be attributed to several reasons. To begin with, Franklin J. Moses, Senior, married out of the faith, raised his children as Protestants and was never identified with Judaism, even though he did not actually change his religion. Then too, he held office during the Reconstruction, the "tragic era" of misrule and corruption. To Northern Jews he was just another defeated Rebel, who had tried to shatter the Union. But to the Jews of the South the very name Franklin J. Moses, Senior or Junior, was odious. For his son was the "Robber Governor" of South Carolina,

a depraved scoundrel, who bore the same name as his father and made it despicable.

In 1804 the future Chief Justice was born in Charleston and named Israel Franklin. If subsequently he had cause to blush over his son, he had every reason for pride in his forebears. His grandfather, Myer Moses, came from Barbados to Charleston in the 1760's and served as private and corporal in the Revolutionary War. Writing about Myer Moses, General Thomas Sumter declared in a letter: "After the fall of Charleston, his treatment of the wounded and prisoners was extremely friendly and humane. . . . that on these occasions he expended a considerable sum in relieving them."

His son, Myer Moses, Junior, was a man of parts who in 1810 represented Charleston County in the State Legislature. A member of the South Carolina Society for the Promotion of Domestic Arts and Manufactures, he was also a Commissioner of Free Schools and Director of the Planters and Mechanics Bank. During the War of 1812, he commanded a company of militia as Captain, then was promoted Major, and served on the Committee of Twenty-One for Aiding the Defense of the City. Major Myer Moses was the author of two well written tracts: *Oration Delivered at Tammany Hall on the 12th May 1831* and *Full Annals of the Revolution in France*.

Economic conditions seem to have deteriorated in Charleston until it became difficult to earn a living. Younger men left the state to make successful careers elsewhere. Despite his activities and standing, Myer Moses departed in 1825 and settled in New York. But his 21-year-old son who now called himself Franklin I. Moses did not follow. Perhaps discord over religious attitudes had already become manifest. The father, always loyal to Judaism, probably detected the growing indifference, perhaps resentment, of the son who began to sign his name Franklin J. for no apparent reason.

Franklin decided to survey the state for better prospects. A graduate from South Carolina College at 17, he studied law at the office of James L. Pettigru, one of the ablest lawyers in American history, and was admitted to the Bar. Passing through Clarenden, he accepted the invitation of Judge Richardson to spend a night at his

home; there were no hotels or inns in the vicinity. The judge was struck with the demeanor, the ability latent in his young house guest and advised him to settle in Sumter.

The sponsorship of Judge Richardson launched Moses and helped him acquire a lucrative law practice that extended to several neighboring counties. In 1842 he was elected to the General Assembly and served in the State Senate till 1866. In public life he displayed high capacities and impressed colleagues with his careful attention to official tasks and duties. During the greater part of his legislative career he served as Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, a strategic post for approving or rejecting proposed laws. In the South Carolina of John C. Calhoun, Robert Y. Hayne, George McDuffie and Barnwill Rhett no one had a better knowledge of public affairs and the state's political history. In 1860 he was sent as South Carolina's Commissioner to influence the North Carolina Secession Convention. When war was declared he enlisted at 57 and served on the staff of General Wise in West Virginia. Too old to take the rigors of campaigning, he returned and throughout the struggle assisted in whatever capacity he could. A member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1865, he was elected Judge of the Circuit Court in 1866.

The war ended and the crushed South was in hopes that the mild policies of Lincoln would be implemented by his successor. But the Radicals seized power and impeached President Johnson without convicting him. Under the Presidency of Ulysses S. Grant, a harsh Reconstruction attempted to subvert the social and political order of the South. The ex-Confederates were disfranchised and the former slaves put in the saddle. For the vanquished it was a period of physical suffering and spiritual distress.

In this time of trouble the white Southerners expected every native son to stand shoulder to shoulder for white supremacy. The penniless adventurers from the North who swooped down to make their fortunes in the ravaged area were scornfully dubbed *carpetbaggers*. But the deepest contempt was reserved for the native white *scalawag* who joined the carpetbagger in exploiting the bewildered,

naive ex-slaves to attain political power and economic well being. South Carolina soon came under the rule of carpetbaggers and scalawags. The state groaned under the high taxes that went to pay for the riotous living of corrupt politicians backed by Federal troops. A Walpurgis Night of revelry, bribery, and general corruption ran riot in high places.

In 1868 Franklin Moses, Sr. was 64 years old. He had served the State with unselfish devotion, and in turn had received honors and distinctions. A completely integrated South Carolinian, he had married Miss Jane McLelland and raised Franklin, Junior, in the Protestant faith. No longer identified with a minority sect, he had no need to bolster up an insecure status with the power and influence of the victorious Federals. Therefore a shock awaited the friends and admirers of Franklin J. Moses, Sr. They were all but stunned to learn that their trusted associate had accepted from the Republican, Negro-carpetbagger-scalawag Legislature of 1868 the position of Chief Justice of South Carolina's Supreme Court. In the eyes of white Carolinians Franklin J. Moses, Sr. became a scalawag, guilty of treachery to his State and to the white race.

In our days of desegregation and civil rights, when dyed-in-the-wool Dixiecrats voted the Republican ticket, the transfer of party allegiance does not appear quite so black. But the ravages of war and defeat, the subversion of society and government all but shell-shocked the taut nerves of South Carolinians. Yet there is no evidence that the elder Franklin Moses became an active Republican guiding the new party with his astute council or rich experience. On the contrary, the Radicals came to regard him as favoring his former colleagues, the Democrats. The question remains: Why did he take a step that forfeited public esteem and private friendships? The answer might lay in the dire need of making a living during a disorganized period when the state's economy was shattered, no easy matter for an ageing lawyer with a wife and four daughters to support. Or was it that when the new party offered him the highest position in the State Judiciary he just could not resist the temptation

to satisfy his strongest ambition? Of course, neither Moses nor any one else could foresee the pillage and deterioration that followed.

The important thing is, how did the Supreme Court conduct itself during the nine years of Republican rule? It would be quite natural, under the circumstances, to suspect this court of the same corruption that prevailed in the other branches of government. Every one knew that Justice Moses had great influence over the Negro Associate Justice Wright, and consequently dominated the court. Considering the frustrations and public feelings of outrage, it would not be surprising for people to imagine the Chief Justice and his son, the Chief Executive of South Carolina from 1872-1874, hatching sinister plots to despoil and to defraud. But the researcher seeks through the Court Reporter in vain for any indication of fraud, chicanery, or simple dishonesty. There were many able lawyers in the state who appeared before the court and scrutinized the decisions with careful suspicion. Not a word of criticism has come down. In fact this court bent backwards when it refused to ratify a bond issue of $4,000,000 passed by the Republican General Assembly because it looked suspicious. In their masterful work, *South Carolina During Reconstruction,* the North Carolina University professors, Francis B. Simkins and Robert H. Woody, declare: "In spite of the fact that the Supreme Court was composed of a scalawag, carpetbagger, and Negro, its administration was fair and equitable."

Ironically, Chief Justice Moses actually rendered important political service to the very Democrats who considered him a scalawag. In 1876 the nation was bewildered to learn that two opposing Governors and Legislatures were operating side by side in the South Carolina Capital. Each party insisted with mounting passion that its candidate had been lawfully elected. Both Republicans and Democrats were presenting to the State Supreme Court the various controversies arising daily out of the anomalous situation. Moses dominated the two Associate Justices and the court invariably decided for the Hampton Democrats. When the final issue came up for the court to declare who was the legally elected Governor, the Chief

Justice was on his deathbed. But every one seemed to know how Chief Justice Moses would have decided. The two Associate Justices decided in favor of Wade Hampton, and this decision influenced Washington to withdraw the Federal troops that sustained the Republicans. But this final decree grew out of the previous orders issued when Moses dominated the Supreme Court.

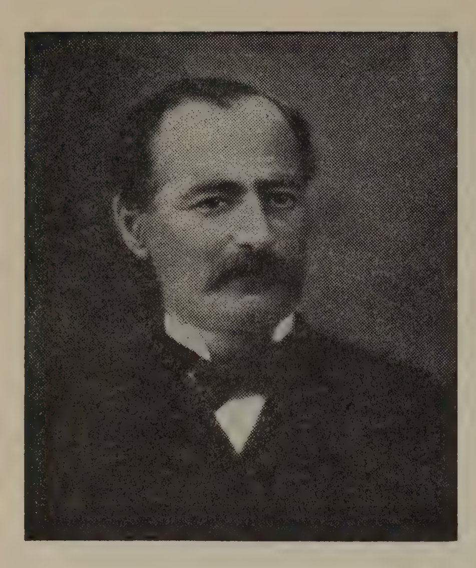
Due to the odious conduct of Governor Franklin J. Moses, Junior, the stigma has never been removed from his father's name. Yet the aforementioned Southern historians, F. B. Simkins and R. J. Woody, use such adjectives as *distinguished, eminent,* and *illustrious* in characterizing Chief Justice Franklin J. Moses. Governor Wade Hampton's letter to Justice Moses, written two months before the latter's death, reflects a friendly warmth.

An important fact appears to have been overlooked or ignored virtually by everyone. How did it happen that during a period of such corruption in government when the Executive arm was venal and the legislative branch scandalous that the Judiciary remained unsullied? There was but a single judge of the Circuit Court who showed dishonesty. Even the magistrates as a group, among them Negroes, have escaped criticism. Everyone knows that judges of inferior courts look for guidance and direction to the Supreme Tribunal which might review their orders and decrees. Thus when the highest court of appeal shows lack of independence, as happened several generations later in the totalitarian countries of Europe, justice becomes a mockery. One can only imagine the consequences if the Supreme Court had displayed complacency towards chicanery or bribery during the most demoralized decade of the State's history.

We are thus forced to conclude that the strict, impartial fairness of the highest court of appeal at this critical time affected and infected the lower courts. We know that the strong and able head of the Supreme Court swayed his two associates. Thus there seems little reason to doubt that the example and firmness of Chief Justice Franklin J. Moses maintained the stability, equity and integrity of the judiciary during the Reconstruction era. It is for this reason that the

judgment of U. R. Brooks in his *South Carolina Bench and Bar* can be quoted as an apt and just appraisal:

"Chief Justice Moses was an extraordinary man. To a big brain he added other qualifications which tended to make him great. He was very conscientious, and would never let his personal aggrandizement stand in the way of his convictions. To illustrate: One evening he received a telegram from some lawyers in Columbia asking him to hear a case at Chambers in Sumter; he granted their request: the case was heard, and he granted the injunction prayed for. After retiring, the lawyers having left, he went to bed, but the case was in his head, and he commenced studying it over, and was convinced he was wrong in granting the injunction. He got up, wrote a contrary opinion to the one he had already given, took it to the train himself, the mail passing Sumter at 4 A.M., and mailed it to Columbia, in order that it might reach there before the injunction was carried out. But one among the chief attributes to his success was a knowledge of the men with whom he was thrown in contact. Indeed, he seemed intuitively to gauge their character and how to direct his argument so that it would fall upon ears prepared. He was painstaking in his work; he never expressed an opinion unless he had good reasons to substantiate it, and, if convinced that he was wrong, he was the first to acknowledge it. His decisions, as laid down in the reports of the courts, show what a great jurist he was; they are daily quoted, and have been seldom set aside: for, learned in the law, he never wrote an opinion without giving the subject-matter due study and research. The only motto to be inscribed upon his tombstone is that he was "Vir probus et justus."



1869

MICHAEL and JOSEPH GOLDWATER

Pioneers of Arizona

In 1954 while American Jewry was celebrating the 300th anniversary of its first settlement in New Amsterdam, a booklet "Jewish Roots in Arizona" by Joseph Stocker appeared in Phoenix. The 33 pages of closely printed history, published under the auspices of the Tercentenary Committee of the Phoenix Jewish Community Council, tells of Jewish pioneers in Arizona who became miners, cattle-raisers, storekeepers, founders of towns, frontiersmen, sheep ranchers, legislators, transporters of freight, postmasters, attorneys, organizers of banks, mayors, farmers, politicians, vigilantes, millers of flour and carriers of mail to far-flung villages. Among these pioneers were Joseph Goldwater and his brother Michael, whose grandson Barry Goldwater represents Arizona today in the United States Senate. Their adventurous story, as told by Mr. Stocker who recaptures the drive and atmosphere of the Great Wild West during its strenuous days, is here reproduced in his own words:

"Fate dealt variously with the men who sought their fortunes along the Western frontier. All came with blazing hopes and high ambitions. Some found only frustration, failure and obscure death,

and their names were quickly forgotten by those who lived after them. But others found success and fulfillment, founding fortunes and dynasties, and bequeathing, to the country that they helped to pioneer, a robust heritage.

"Among the latter, in Arizona, has been the family of Goldwater. There were two of them to begin with—Michael and Joseph. Physically they were dissimilar men. Mike was tall—about six-feet-three. He carried himself ramrod straight and wore a luxuriant moustache. Joe was short, rotund. But both had something in common and this, indeed, seemed a trait held in common by all their clan and their progeny as well: They relished the new, the different and the unknown.

"It may have been that which impelled them, in the beginning, to leave their native Poland and migrate to London. They made their living there by making caps, and then they came to the United States and settled for a while in California, first in San Francisco and then in Los Angeles.

"It was Mike, apparently, who was the first to make the jump from the civilized security of California to the primitive uncertainty of pre-territorial Arizona. The time was about 1860, and Mike was drawn Arizona-ward by tales of prodigious activity along the gold fields of the Colorado River. Leaving his wife temporarily behind, rather than expose her to the dangers and discomforts of the frontier, he moved to La Paz and looked around for a way of earning a livelihood.

"He found the answer in freighting and, in association with another Jew named B. Cohen, Goldwater landed contracts to haul provisions and supplies to army posts and intermediate stopping places. The freighting was done of course by wagon, pulled by strings of mules or, if speed was a factor, by horses. Mike picked up his freight from the sidewheelers which had come fussing up the Colorado from the gulf, to pause at La Paz.

"But the Colorado was a contrary river. It chose first one channel and then another. Now and then Mike Goldwater and his partner found that they had to unload their freight and cart it overland

several hundred yards or perhaps a mile to their wagons. Mike hunted around for a better spot and found it six miles downstream, where the river indulged in no such foolish whimsies. There it flowed between two steep banks, and the water alongshore was more than deep enough for a steamer's berthing. Mike had the location surveyed and re-established himself there. In due time others followed. A town grew up and Goldwater named it Ehrenberg.

"It is a truism of commerce that wherever people congregate opportunity is created. Mike was quick to see opportunity in the fast-growing Ehrenberg and opened the community's first general store in partnership with his brother, Joe, who had joined him by now. The Goldwater store quickly became a focal point of the town. It was, at the same time, the town hall, post-office and general meeting place. There, in the years to come, Arizona's first road system was mapped out, its first telegraph line charted and expeditions organized into the thinly settled interior. Joe Goldwater became Ehrenberg's first postmaster, although, since there was nobody around to swear him in, he had to swear himself in. Mike, with his statuesque mien, flamboyant moustache and bushy hair, became known among the Mexicans as 'Don Miguel.'

"But Mike and Joe Goldwater were men whose ambitions would not leave them content with simply being storekeepers and mail-sorters. When they heard of Henry Wickenburg's discovery of gold in the Vulture Mountains near the Hassayampa River, they went to see what kind of opportunity might be waiting there for them. And they found it, for Wickenburg needed men who could set up and operate a stamp mill.

"History fails to record in what manner the Goldwaters learned how to run a stamp mill, but they obviously learned well enough to perform the operation successfully at the famous Vulture Mine. And they were still operating it when Wickenburg sold his mine and departed. The Goldwaters stayed on under the new owners who, as events transpired, weren't quite as loyal to the two brothers as the brothers were to them. Suddenly the new owners re-sold the mine

and left without paying the Goldwaters what was owed them. The amount was $90,000.

"Mike and Joe resolved to get what was coming to them. Pending the arrival of the latest set of owners, they worked the mine for themselves and pocketed the proceeds as payment on the debt which was due them. Even after the owners arrived, the Goldwaters mined on, pre-empting each day's proceeds and somehow holding the owners off at arm's length. This kept on for 30 days, with a daily take of $3,000. When the 30 days were up, and Mike and Joe had their $90,000, they surrendered the mine to its owners and went their way."

* * *

"Indian mischief was not unknown to Mike and Joe themselves. In 1872, while they were clopping along a lonely road from Prescott to Ehrenberg, the brothers were attacked by about 30 Indians—either Apaches or Yavapais. They tried to outrun their besiegers. The chase lasted four miles and, in the course of it, Joe was shot in the back and Mike's hat brim was gratuitously ventilated. The Indians finally withdrew when their quarry encountered another party of white men driving toward Prescott.

"Stories vary as to what happened next. One version has it that a doctor was traveling with the Goldwaters in a second buggy and treated Joe's wounds when they reached Skull Valley. According to another and more romantic version, a cowboy rode to Fort Whipple, returned with surgical instruments and pried two lead balls out of Joe's back. In any case, Joe showed up a little later with the two lead balls attached to his watch fob, and, so far as anyone knows, they were buried with him.

"In 1872 the brothers decided that the newly founded village of Phoenix might afford some little promise. They explored the Salt River Valley, liked the looks of it, bought an unfinished building at the northwest corner of 1st Street and Jefferson and finished it. They even roofed it with shingles, which was an extravagance of

the period somewhat akin to refrigerated air-conditioning today. Then they bought a stock of merchandise and opened their first Phoenix store.

"Mike managed the Phoenix business and Joe remained in charge at Ehrenberg. But now Joe had a fresh onset of restiveness. He heard about new mining country opening up along Arizona's southern border, and of rich silver strikes at a place bearing the curious name of Tombstone. So he sold out to Mike and took on a new partner, a Mexican from Yuma named Castenada. They opened general merchandising stores in Tombstone, Bisbee and Benson, and Joe Goldwater prospered.

"He was, by this time, a true veteran of the frontier—a rugged, weatherbeaten man who, as one of his biographers would have us believe, possessed only one eye. The other, we are told, had been lost to a charge of buckshot during a rather severe disagreement in a northern California saloon. Joe was a blithe and happy man, though. And, at some point in his meanderings, he paused long enough to send off to San Francisco for an artificial eye—a brown one, to match the one that survived. Presumably the stage driver got his parcels mixed, for the eye which he delivered was blue. It didn't matter. Joe wore it and chuckled when people noticed something peculiarly amiss. 'What the hell's the difference?' he would say. 'Variety's the spice of life.'

"If variety was what Joe Goldwater wanted, he certainly got it in the celebrated episode which became known as the Bisbee Murders. It was an episode which had a lasting impact on southeastern Arizona, for it served to bring law and order to a region as lawless and unruly as any in the West.

"But what wound up as a modest-sized massacre was intended originally to be just a routine frontier hold-up. Its objective was the payroll of the Copper Queen mine, which was supposed to be reposing in the stagecoach office at the Goldwater and Castenada store. The payroll was expected to make a very satisfying haul for the five men who rode into Bisbee that day in 1883.

"They hitched their horses a short distance away from the store.

Three of them wearing handkerchief masks, strode into the store while the other two stayed outside and began firing random shots up and down the street with their Winchesters. Presumably this was done to shoo away any inquisitive loiterers while the business at hand was being transacted inside the store. But the two gunmen apparently tired of wasting bullets on empty air and began getting in some target practice on people. They shot and killed an assayer who neglected to put up his hands when they told him to, and then killed two more men and wounded a woman.

"Meanwhile, the three money-raisers among the group were causing an inevitable commotion inside Goldwater and Castenada's. Joe and his son, Lem, were there, along with a handful of others—employees and customers. The robbers demanded that Joe—the 'one-eyed s.o.b.,' as they tactlessly referred to him—open the company safe. Joe complied. The payroll wasn't there. The disappointed desperados took what they could find—perhaps $1,000 in Goldwater and Castenada money—and vamoosed. After they were gone, Lem Goldwater locked the store and opened one of three sacks of barley which had been brought in from the Tombstone stage when it arrived just before the hold-up. Hidden in the barley was a large quantity of money—the Copper Queen payroll.

"As it turned out, the robbery was an inside job—with outside manpower. The brains of the mob were those of a character known as Johnny Heith. He had opened up a dance hall, just a short time before, and on the afternoon of the hold-up had staged a public dance, to lure as many townspeople as possible from the scene of the crime. Some of the loot, in fact, was found in his possession.

"The five gunmen were duly rounded up and just as duly executed. Heith got a life term for being an accessory, but the local citizens saved him the trouble of serving it. They removed him from the jail and unceremoniously strung him up, using a rope borrowed from the Tombstone store of Goldwater and Gastenada. And then a coroner's jury handed down one of the classic verdicts of Western Americana—that the victim died of 'strangulation, self-inflicted or otherwise.'

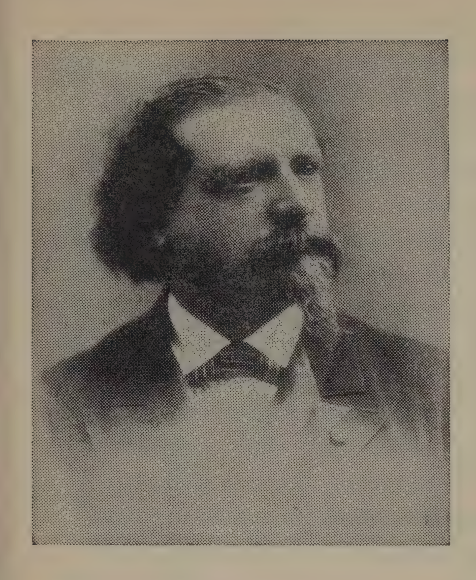
"Shortly thereafter, the strong hand of law enforcement was clamped down along the bumptious border area. And so, quite without intending to, Joe Goldwater was partly and indirectly responsible for the pacifying of one of the last of the country's unregenerated regions.

"Some time later Joe broke off his partnership with Castenada and moved to southern California, where in the firm of Cohn-Goldwater, he further enhanced his fortunes by manufacturing a brand of overalls known as Boss. Together with his son, Lem, he also took part in the founding of the famous Cedars of Lebanon Hospital in Los Angeles."

Michael Goldwater had five sons and three daughters, among them Baron who together with Morris "picked up the thread which their father had started to spin, and spun it a good deal farther." Baron Goldwater died in Phoenix survived by his two sons, Barry and Bob. Mr. Stocker brings the family history to date:

"In Barry, especially, the Goldwater tradition seems to run strong. Perhaps it was from his grandfather, Mike, that he inherited a trace of derring-do and a passion for the Colorado River. In any case, his explorations of the Colorado's wild upper reaches have contributed considerably to the knowledge of that moody stream. Barry calls it "riveritis," and he has written: 'The first symptoms of this affliction appeared years ago, when, as a small boy, I learned that my grandfather started his business on the doubtful banks of the Colorado at La Paz. As the years rolled by, a desire to see and learn more of this river grew right along with me. In fact, it grew a little faster than I did, for I never seemed able to catch up with it.'

"In later years, Barry's inclinations have leaned more toward politics than rivers, and perhaps that is a heritage from his uncle, Morris Goldwater. However, where Morris was a Democrat, and, indeed, one of the founders of his party in Arizona, Barry has chosen the Republican Party as his vehicle. But the vehicle has carried him far. After an apprenticeship served on the city council of Phoenix and as campaign manager for Gov. Howard Pyle, Barry Goldwater in 1952 was elected to the United States Senate."



1870

EDWARD S. SOLOMON

And Other Union Generals

In the desperate War between the States, Jews enlisted on both sides. In the Confederacy Judah P. Benjamin served in the Cabinet of Jefferson Davis as Attorney General, then as Secretary of War and when Richmond fell he held the high office of Secretary of State. Such top positions might create the impression that many high military posts in the South were occupied by Jews. This is not quite true. It was in the Union forces that several were generals. Perhaps the best known was Edward S. Solomon, who later became Governor of Washington Territory.

Born in Schleswig-Holstein, Edward left Germany at 18 and settled in Chicago in 1854. He seems to have gone early into politics, for in 1860 he became an alderman. When war broke out he joined the 24th Illinois Infantry as Second Lieutenant. General proficiency and gallant conduct raised him to the rank of Major as early as 1862. Disagreements in the regiment caused Major Solomon and other officers to resign and organize the 82d Illinois Infantry, which he later commanded. He took part in the action at Chancellorsville and his behavior during the three-day Battle of Gettysburg was such that

Major General Carl Schurz, in a dispatch to Gen. Howard, commander of the 11th Corps, mentions "Lieut. Col. Solomon, of the 82d Illinois, who displayed the highest order of coolness and determination under very trying circumstances."

He took part in the desperate fighting around Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. In June 1864 Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker recommended a Colonel's commission to Lt. Col. Edward S. Solomon who "has won the good opinion of all his comrades for his great gallantry and conduct and it will be but a just and grateful appreciation of his services to confer the preferment upon him." On June 15, 1865, the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, officially advised Brevet Brig. Gen. Edward S. Solomon that his rank had been raised from March 13, the commission to be issued as soon as the Senate consented to it. This promotion was in recognition of meritorious service and particularly for admirable coolness, conspicuous energy and sound judgment in the campaign against Atlanta.

In 1870 President Grant appointed Edward Solomon Governor of the Territory of Washington on the Pacific Coast. He served four years, and when the term expired the *Pacific Tribune* expressed in its columns the appreciation of the people for his administration. "He was honest, fearless and capable. He mingled freely with the people, identified himself with their interests and generously expended his time and means to bring hither population and to promote our material interests. . . . His official acts are his best rewards. They have all met with the heartiest commendation of our people . . . he was singularly free from partisan bigotry in the exercise of official functions. . . . He governed well."

In a conversation with Simon Wolf, General Carl Schurz, later U. S. Senator from Missouri, said of Edward S. Solomon, "He was the only soldier at Gettysburg who did not dodge when Lee's guns thundered; he stood up, smoked his cigar and faced the cannon balls with the *sang froid* of a Saladin."

An even higher military rank was attained by Frederick Knefler, born in Hungary. His impact on civilian life appears to have been

slight, and little is known of him—not even the time and place of his death. When 26, he immigrated to the U.S.A. in 1859 and enlisted at Lincoln's first call for volunteers. Starting as a private in the 79th Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, he rose step by step until he commanded the regiment as Colonel. He took part in the battles of the Army of the Cumberland and saw much service under Generals Rosecrans, Thomas, and Grant. We cannot ascribe a more plausible reason for a foreigner in the course of a few years to reach the position of Brigadier General other than his devotion and capacity. For heroic conduct in the bloody battle of Chickamauga he was made Brevet Major General, the highest rank of any Jewish soldier in America up to that time. He served under General William T. Sherman throughout the celebrated March to the Sea. After the war Frederick Knefler received the appointment of U. S. Pension Agent with headquarters at Indianapolis, Indiana. Subsequently all sight of him was lost.

A more colorful story can be found in the career of Louis A. Gratz who came from Prussian Poland to New York in 1861. The unskilled immigrant, 21 years of age or perhaps younger, just couldn't find a job. Of his $10 he spent $2.50 for a week's board and lodging and invested $5 in such notions as thimbles, shoelaces, stockings. By dint of hard work, walking up and down steps, he could earn about 35¢ a day, enough for his food. A merchant advised him to peddle in the country and advanced him $5 credit in merchandise. Louis found the farms somewhat more profitable than the city. A heavy rainfall made the muddy roads impassable. With a pack on his shoulders he trudged back 25 miles in knee-deep mud, and either caught a bad cold or picked up some virus, which probably caused his leg infection.

Instead of a much-needed rest he went on peddling until confined to bed with a fever that would not leave him. Out of money, he applied to a charity hospital in his wretched condition. The surgeon experimented on his leg by operating twice a week. Discharged after six weeks and uncured, he returned to the boarding house in low spirits. It took two months for Dr. Henry W. Berg,

who later became famous, to cure him for a $5 fee. Luck seemed to beckon when Gratz teamed up with a fellow townsman from the Old Country who possessed $50 in working capital. Together they peddled in the Pennsylvania coal fields inhabited by many fellow-Germans. Then war broke out and the President called for volunteers. Louis Gratz had little to risk by signing up for three months. He succumbed to the war hysteria, raised his age to 22, and enlisted as a private in the 15th Pennsylvania Infantry.

Ability can often be strangely concealed. One would hardly expect to find military capacity in the immigrant lad, ignorant of the American way and language, apparently marked out for failure. But Louis Gratz found his *metier* in the army. Day or night whenever leisure permitted he applied himself assiduously to English and studied military tactics. In a short time he became a Corporal, then aspired to a commission. He acquired friends who presented him to Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, who was also political boss of Pennsylvania. When the 90-day service period expired, Gratz re-enlisted on October 7, 1861 as First Lieutenant of Lochiel Pennsylvania Cavalry. It took labor and study, pluck and luck for a 21-year-old foreigner to attain commissioned rank within less than a year after landing in New York. Completely unknown a short while before, he was now a recruiting officer, with headquarters at Scranton, respectfully received in Jewish and Christian homes.

Less than a year later, Lieut. Gratz was honorably discharged from Lochiel Pennsylvania Cavalry, now operating in Kentucky. On August 16, 1862 he became Major in the 6th Regiment Kentucky Cavalry. The shortage of officers must have been acute for the army brass to jump the foreign young lieutenant to the rank of major without his having served as captain. Throughout the fall he scouted in the Cumberland Gap, fighting the Confederate raider, General Morgan. About a year later he commanded the regiment at age 23, according to his service record. There is reason to believe he was several years younger.

The action that brought Major Gratz distinction took place in the Fall of 1863 at the ferocious Battle of Chickamauga. While protect-

ing the right flank of General Rosecrans' Division, Gratz almost lost his life or liberty. The bad judgment of a Union general opened up the Northern lines to penetration by Confederates under Braxton Bragg. The Kentucky Regiment, commanded by Major Gratz, was repeatedly flanked, almost surrounded and cut off. He had to make the rapid and difficult decision whether to surrender or die fighting. The horror stories of the Southern prison at Andersonville, widely circulated in the Union Army, influenced him to break through. He ordered his men to cut through the Confederate forces, which surrounded and outnumbered his; they made a desperate dash for freedom. It was a gallant, costly action but successful. The adjutant, orderly and chaplain close to him were shot dead and 120 men captured. His quickness of decision and courageous action probably induced Commanding General Carter, the sailor on horseback, to make Gratz chief of his personal staff.

In 1864, Gratz made the sweeping March through Georgia with Sherman and continued in active duty throughout the final Southern campaign. In the following spring he served in North Carolina as Acting Assistant Inspector General. In April 1865 he was appointed Acting Assistant Adjutant General, the high peak in the military career of the 25-year-old immigrant volunteer. By the end of the struggle, a tough cavalry officer who had seen much service from the War's beginning, Gratz was offered a colonelcy in the regular Army. Anxious now for civilian life, he refused and was mustered out in July 1865 near Nashville, Tennessee.

While in the army Louis Gratz began to think of his future. He read law, guided by some fellow-officers who were lawyers by profession. They promised to help him pass the Bar and start practice but could do little, since they lived up North and Gratz decided to remain in Tennessee. The attraction was, perhaps, Elizabeth Twigg Bearden, whom he describes as "beautiful, virtuous, well educated, and related to the oldest and most influential families in the state." They married and raised their children in the Protestant faith.

Louis Gratz was moderately successful in law and in politics.

He evidently passed for a Teuton and concealed his Jewish origin. The Ochs family of Chattanooga was on friendly terms with him, yet the brother of Adolph Ochs, publisher of the *New York Times,* never knew the Major to be a Jew. He is mentioned neither in Jewish histories nor encyclopedias. It was by chance that Dr. Joshua Bloch, Director of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library, happened to see the letters of Louis Gratz to his relatives in Posen published in *Ostdeutsches Judentum.* He called this book to the attention of the historian and founder of the American Jewish Archives, Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, who rescued from oblivion the name and career of Louis Gratz.

Those described above were civilian-minded citizens who responded to the call of the President in the critical hour of national danger. By contrast Max Einstein appears to have been military-minded even before the call to arms. Born 1822 in Wurtemburg, he settled in Philadelphia at the age of 22. Evidently attracted to the military even in peacetime, he was in 1853 First Lieutenant of the Washington Guards. The following year he organized the Philadelphia Artillery Company and was chosen Captain. The next step was Aid-de-Camp to Governor James Pollock of Pennsylvania with the rank of Brigadier General. By 1860 he commanded the Second Brigade of the Pennsylvania Militia. His position and experience in the State Militia entitled him to a full colonelcy in the U. S. Army at the outbreak of war. Placed in command of the 27th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, he rendered a signal service in the opening battle of the Civil War. In the Battle of Bull Run, Colonel Einstein received praise for the manner in which he covered the retreat of the Union forces in their disastrous defeat. He evidently had something to do with stopping the victorious Confederates from pursuing the Federals all the way into Washington. With this auspicious beginning, Colonel Einstein should have gone far in the great struggle. Something seems to have gone wrong and President Lincoln appointed him U. S. Consul at Nuremburg. Subsequently he held the post of U. S. Internal Revenue Agent at Philadelphia. With all the superior advantages of rank, prestige and experience, Max

Einstein was completely outstripped by Edward Solomon, Frederick Knefler and Louis Gratz.

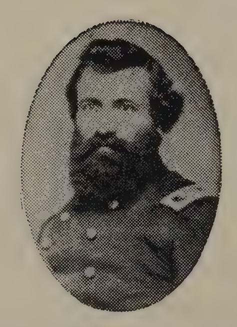
As Assistant Attorney of the U. S. District Court in New York, Philip J. Joachimsen created a stir with his vigorous crusade against slave dealers. President Franklin Pierce thanked him for carrying out his duties in securing the first conviction for the traffic in human beings. It was only in character for Judge Philip J. Joachimsen to resign his position in order to assist in the war effort. His help in organizing the 59th New York Volunteers brought him the appointment of Colonel. The Regiment was stationed in Fortress Monroe and he was made U. S. Paymaster. Later he was transferred to New Orleans and placed under the command of the notorious General Benjamin F. Butler. Severely hurt in a fall from his horse, Colonel Joachimsen became disqualified for military duty. His services were considered of sufficient importance for Governor Fenton to honor Philip J. Joachimsen with the rank and title of Brevet-Brigadier General of the New York State Militia. To his death in 1890, he remained active among the top leadership in Jewish charities and communal matters.

Leopold Blumenberg was born in Brandenburg. He saw service in the Prussian-Danish War and was one of the very few Jewish soldiers who received promotion to First Lieutenant in the German Army. After the failure of the 1848 Revolution, the medieval conception of society and government again ruled Germany and Leopold refused to remain in the reactionary anti-Semitic atmosphere. He left Germany in 1854 and settled in Baltimore.

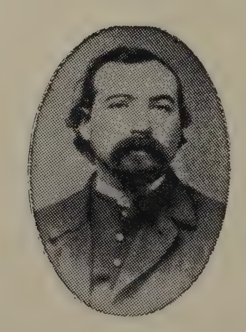
After the bombardment of Fort Sumter he abandoned a successful business to help preserve the Federal Union. This aroused the ire of the secessionists who were numerous, strong and vindictive in Maryland. Fortunate enough to escape hanging by the pro-Southern mob, he assisted in organizing the 5th Maryland Regiment, of which he became Acting Colonel. For a time he served near Hampton Roads and then was attached to the Mansfield Corps throughout the Peninsular campaign. Under his command as Major, the 5th Maryland Regiment took part in the fierce fighting at Antietam. His

horse shot under him, the Major received a severe wound in the thigh. Confined to bed for months, he became disabled for further service, and although continuing to live a dozen years longer he never fully recovered. Lincoln appointed him Provost Marshal of the Third Maryland District, and President Andrew Johnson, although not over friendly to Jews, ordered him elevated to the rank of Brevet-Brigadier General of the U. S. Volunteers. A leading member of Har Sinai Congregation, active in the Hebrew Orphan House and President of the National Schutzen-Verein of America, Leopold Blumenberg died in 1876 in his 49th year.

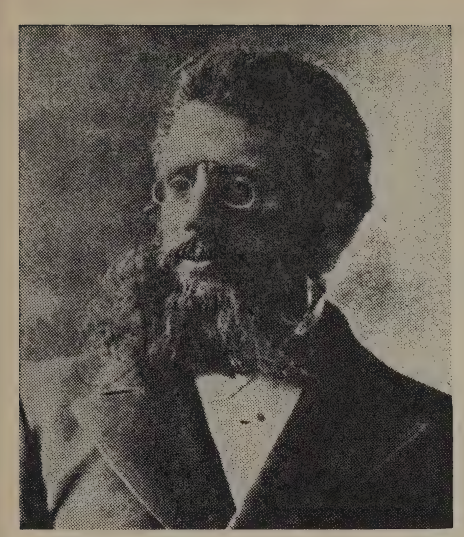
Others also received recognition for merit. Marcus M. Spiegel, Colonel of the 120th Ohio Infantry, was wounded at Vicksburg and Snaggy Point, La. Selected for Brigadier General, Spiegel died in Louisiana before the commission came through. Meyer Ash served on the staff of General Pope and was appointed Adjutant General. Physician, poet, novelist and critic, Dr. Nathan Mayer served through the war and attained the rank of Brigadier General. Lieutenant Colonel Leopold C. Newman of the 31st Pennsylvania Infantry was fatally wounded at Chancellorsville. Taken to Washington, President Lincoln came to the deathbed of Colonel Newman with the commission of Brigadier General.



GENERAL FREDERICK KNEFLER.



COLONEL MARCUS M. SPIEGEL.



1871

BENJAMIN F. PEIXOTTO

First Consul to Roumania

The peixotto family could trace its lineage back to 1492 in Spain. The Rev. Moses Levy Maduro Peixotto succeeded Gershom M. Seixas as Minister of the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue in New York. His son Daniel Levy Maduro Peixotto was a noted physician and editor of the *New York Medical and Physical Journal*. He might have gone much further had his span of life not stopped at 43 years. In his short career this cultured and completely integrated Jew managed to hold the office of President of Willoughby Medical College in Ohio.

His son Benjamin Franklin Peixotto was born in New York. Left an orphan at nine and without means, Benjamin had to shift for himself. Eventually he got a job at the law office of Stephen A. Douglas, then one of the leaders in American public life. Benjamin became political editor of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and supported Douglas in the 1860 Presidential campaign against Abraham Lincoln. Soon his energies were directed to the war effort; for a time he served in the de Villiers Zouaves, a company of an Ohio regiment.

The Order of B'nai B'rith, organized by twelve obscure immi-

grants in 1843, had grown surprisingly. Something new in Jewish life, this German-Jewish *verein* relied on insurance and social benefits to maintain its existence. Activities on a national scale that would later make the B'nai B'rith a power had not yet begun. We find the Order silent when American Jewry protested the Mortara baptism case in Italy. Nor did the Lodge take any action to cancel the notorious Order No. 11 issued by General Grant. The Civil War, which divided the B'nai B'rith into two segments, seems to have paralyzed its activities. Leadership appeared to be woefully lacking. In 1863 B. F. Peixotto joined B'nai B'rith and the same year became Grand Sar of the Supreme Lodge.

For the first time the Lodge began to think in terms larger than insurance or burials. Peixotto suggested an orphan home for Jewish children whose fathers were killed in the war. After 1865 he became concerned with repealing the law that barred non-believers in the New Testament from holding public office in North Carolina. He even advocated the collection of funds to relieve the cholera victims in Palestine.

After serving the B'nai B'rith for five years, B. F. Peixotto moved to San Francisco and opened a law office. His stewardship must have impressed his colleagues in the Lodge, for soon he was selected for a most difficult post: to ease the tragic situation of his co-religionists in a foreign land.

Of all countries, Roumania held the palm for practicing the most repulsive form of anti-Semitism. Czarist Russia at least had the courage to affirm its anti-Jewish policies openly. But the rulers of Roumania resorted to lying, to hypocrisy, to making promises without the slightest intention of keeping them. Roumania was true at least to its spiritual heritage. Tradition has it that its name stems from the Roman convicts and felons exiled by ancient Rome to populate the penal colony, Dacia.

For centuries these Balkan countries groaned under the heel of Turkey. By the middle of the 19th century the Ottoman power declined and the downtrodden Roumanians, with the help of the great Powers, attained a measure of self-government and set up a

kingdom. Immediately these liberated serfs began to take out on the Jews the humiliations they had suffered under the Turks. Their barbarities and cruelties called forth protests from Western Europe. In the U.S.A. public opinion was outraged by the atrocities that took place at Galatz. A number of Jews thrust out of Roumania sought to cross the Turkish border. The Turkish frontier guards refused to admit them, so the Roumanians with bayonets simply forced them into the Danube. President Grant called a Cabinet meeting to discuss these outrages, with the Jewish leader Simon Wolf present as advisor. There had never been any diplomatic connections between the United States and Roumania. Simon Wolf prevailed upon Grant to name B. F. Peixotto the first American Consul-General to Bucharest. In the presence of Peixotto and Wolf the President sat down and wrote the following letter, which the Consul later showed to the ruling powers of Roumania:

"The bearer of this letter, Mr. Benjamin Peixotto, who has accepted the important, though unremunerative, position of U. S. Consul to Roumania, is commended to the good offices of all representatives of this Government abroad.

"Mr. Peixotto has undertaken the duties of his present office more as a missionary work for the benefit of the people he represents, than for any benefit to accrue to himself—a work in which all citizens will wish him the greatest success. The United States, knowing no distinction of her own citizens on account of religion or nativity, naturally believes in a civilization the world over which will secure the same universal views."

He served from 1871 to 1875. The cost of maintaining the Consulate was covered with funds raised by Jesse Seligman and B'nai B'rith leaders. It was too difficult an assignment for any one to discharge with much success. Peixotto did as much as was humanly possible. He established friendly relations with Prince Carol, the double-faced Hohenzollern who posed as a liberal. During the five years of Peixotto's consulate only two bloody disturbances happened in an explosive atmosphere charged with religious, racial, economic and chauvinistic hate. Judging by later events in the 20th Century,

we know that matters could have been much worse. The historian Max J. Kohler, estimating the value of Peixotto's service declares:

"Naturally, the very fact of an Israelite's holding office as representative of a great nation in Roumania, created a stir there, and Dr. Stern, as well as Mr. Peixotto, reports how the day of his first official reception by the Prince was turned into a Jewish holiday, as also his appearance in the interior on his travels. Moreover, he did not hesitate, consistently, to advise the Jews of Roumania to defend themselves, with fire arms when necessary, as a protection against violence and assaults, the right of self-defense being recognized even by Roumanian law. Argument and friendly intercourse with influential personages in Roumania were resorted to by Peixotto to establish a better feeling towards the Jews, and he entertained extensively. Largely through his influence, prefects whose inactivity had promoted anti-Semitic riots were removed, and new hostile legislation against the Jews was prevented. . . . Atrocities against the Jews would have assumed much greater dimensions, and much more drastic anti-Jewish legislation would have been enacted, had it not been for his efforts. But his chief merit was recognized to have been his services in rousing all Europe, as well as the United States, against Roumanian anti-Semitic intolerance and the importance of international action."

Peixotto came to the conclusion that the Jewish problem in Roumania could only be solved through emigration. Due to his goading, the first international Jewish conference of modern times was held in 1872 at Brussels. Twenty-five delegates sat down at the meeting, with the eminent French statesman Adolphe Cremieux presiding. Peixotto urged that the migration of at least 50,000 Jews would be beneficial to themselves and to those left behind. But the conference rejected his plea and decided that they should remain and fight for emancipation and equal rights. Subsequent history, not only of Roumania but of Central and Eastern Europe, confirms the soundness of Peixotto's judgment.

The American Consul endeavored to raise Jewish educational standards by inducing important innovations in schools. He ad-

vocated the use and instruction of the Roumanian language and the inclusion of modern subjects in the curriculum. He founded a German newspaper in Bucharest, and to bring about a better unity he encouraged the formation of the Order of Zion, which later was affiliated with the B'nai B'rith.

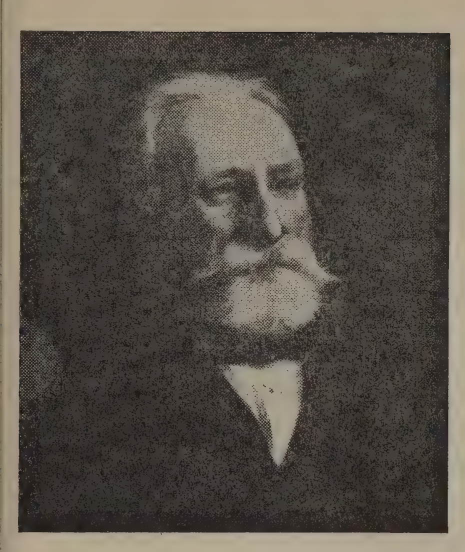
At the end of his term he returned home and took part in the presidential compaign of 1876 and later in the canvass in favor of his fellow Ohioan, Rutherford B. Hayes. Peixotto declined the offered appointment of U. S. Consul-General to St. Petersburg but accepted in 1877 the consulship to Lyons, France, and was able to render valuable services to American commerce.

He continued to agitate for ameliorating the condition of Roumanian Jewry, and two other conferences were called. Finally the convention of the great Powers at Berlin in 1878, with Bismarck in the chair and Disraeli representing Britain, decreed complete religious, political and civil rights for all as a condition for the recognition of Roumanian independence. This forward step in humane government was, in part, a result of the ardent labors of Benjamin F. Peixotto, who surely could not be blamed for Roumania's subsequent reneging on her solemn obligations.

After eight years at Lyons, Peixotto returned in 1885 and practiced law in New York until his premature death at 56 five years later. He lectured extensively and edited the B'nai B'rith *Menorah Monthly* which he helped to organize. The statesmanship and humanity of this aristocratic Sephardi is revealed in his staunch championship of the incoming Russian Jews. Strange and incredible as it may appear today, some American Jews, largely of German stock, actually opposed the immigration of fellow-Jews fleeing from pogroms and unbearable restrictions in Czarist Russia. In a speech before the New York Y.M.H.A. in 1887, Benjamin F. Peixotto, a founder of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, declared:

"I would say here, to those who say 'send them back; let them stay at home; we don't want them here,' I would say you might as well attempt to keep the waves of old ocean from rushing on our shores, as to keep those from seeking the refuge which this country

offers. Again I say, you cannot keep them back; this is a free country, open to all except criminals and paupers, and the Jews are not paupers, nor are they criminals. . . . They have come here from necessity. They have come here as the Pilgrim Fathers came and as the Huguenot Fathers came, driven by bigotry and persecution, and in the case of the Israelites, not only from religious persecution but from political animosities, commercial jealousies and sufferings such as the past has scarcely a parallel."



1872

ADOLPHUS S. SOLOMONS

Red Cross Organizer

If the term integrated applies to anyone typical of his generation who fits quite normally into the environment, then Adolphus Simeon Solomons was a representative American Jew of the 19th century. Spared the more or less difficult adjustment of the native child reared in the immigrant's home where a foreign language is spoken, he had few strains or stresses to combat. Quite naturally Adolph became the synthesis of a proud, observant Jew and loyal American.

Born in 1826 of an Englist journalist who wrote editorials for New York papers, he attended the University of the City of New York for his general education. Already in the state militia at 14, he was made sergeant five years later and was honorably discharged in 1847. He went to work with a firm that imported stationery and fancy goods and was evidently sent on a business mission to Europe when Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, appointed him "Special Bearer of Dispatches to Berlin." This was not unusual before the steamship made regular trips carrying diplomatic mail pouches. While in Germany, Adolph visited the old Jewish community of Frankfurt. Its hospital suggested a similar institution for New York. On returning

he joined the young group that gave a charity ball at Niblo's Garden. At his suggestion the realized net sum of $1034 was delivered to Sampson Simson who had taken the initiative in starting the organization subsequently named Mt. Sinai Hospital.

Adolph married Rachel Seixas Phillips of Colonial stock, of a family with a distinguished record of devoted patriotism. Later he moved the publishing plant of Philip and Solomons to Washington and for a number of years obtained from the Government its printing contracts. His influence in high places is evident by an incident during the administration of James Buchanan. As the coming war cast its approaching shadows, the country was in a prayerful mood. For the first time in history a rabbi publicly invoked the Deity for a Christian nation when Morris J. Raphall, wearing skull cap and prayer shawl, opened a morning session in the House of Representatives. This was due to Adolphus Solomons. Traditionally inclined, he suggested a strictly Orthodox rabbi rather than one of the recently installed Reformers.

On the Executive Committee of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, Adolphus was the leading Jew in Washington during the Civil War. When the same Rabbi Raphall wanted a commission of First Lieutenant for his son, he applied to Solomons for an introduction to the President. Lincoln might or might not have known of Raphall's unfortunate sermon about slavery being never prohibited in the Bible. Nevertheless, he rebuked the Rabbi for not praying in the synagogue for the preservation of the Union on the solemn day set by the President. Raphall apologized that his assistant was conducting the service, and obtained the commission. Evidently the presence of Adolphus helped, for the latter was on friendly terms with Lincoln. Yet he did not seize every occasion to flaunt his leadership. When Cesar Kaskel of Paducah, Kentucky, came to Washington for relief from the infamous Order No. 11 signed by General Grant, he consulted with Solomons. The latter remained in the background, apparently considering it better strategy for Congressman Gurly of Ohio to escort Kaskel to the President, who immediately cancelled the anti-Jewish military order.

In his *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*, Adolphus Solomons tells of asking Lincoln to sit for a new picture in the photograph department of his publishing house at 911 Pennsylvania Avenue. The President came on Sunday April 15th and "wore a troubled expression." The negative did not show up well and Lincoln caught the disappointment on Adolphus' face. He agreed to pose again saying "Solomons, tell me one of your funny stories, and we will see if I can't do better." This was his last picture. Five days later the assassin's bullet ended the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Even while living in New York, Solomons participated in philanthropy, serving as a member of various social and welfare agencies. In Washington he was director and later treasurer of the Columbia Hospital and the Lying-In Asylum. He acted as president of the Provident Aid Society, of the Associated Charities and became trustee of the first training school for nurses in the District of Columbia. Founder and president of the Night Lodging-House Association, he was identified with nearly every important charity in the National Capital.

With such varied and useful activities, Adolphus would find little difficulty in making his way in politics. When the District of Columbia had self-government, he was elected to its House of Delegates and served as chairman of the important Ways and Means Committee. He could have gone further when in 1873 President Grant offered to make him Governor of the District in which the National Capital is situated. But probably because the duties of office necessitated violation of the Sabbath, which he strictly observed, Solomons declined the appointment. He became a chartered member of the Garfield Memorial Hospital, founded in memory of the murdered President James A. Garfield. An important figure in social welfare and politics and a leader of the Jewish community, Adolphus Solomons took part in all the inaugural ceremonies from the time of Abraham Lincoln to that of William H. Taft.

Perhaps the most significant of his humanitarian efforts were those he devoted to the Red Cross. A search through the unpublished files of The American Association of the Red Cross, the origi-

nal name of the organization formed in 1881, might yield some important data concerning his founding activities. Hardly more than his name is mentioned in the biographies of Clara Barton or in Red Cross histories. Writing of the founders who greatly assisted Miss Barton, Foster Rhea Dulles in *The American Red Cross* states: "Another was Adolphus S. Solomons, a businessman resident in Washington, who not only played an important part in establishing the Red Cross but was to remain a leader in the organization for seventeen years."

In spite of the paucity of information we find him a signatory on the Articles of Incorporation of The American Association of the Red Cross, dated October 11, 1881. It was in his home in Washington that the decision was reached to form the national organization. He was one of its two vice presidents and first treasurer. President Chester A. Arthur appointed Clara Barton, Judge Joseph Sheldon and Adolphus S. Solomons to represent the U. S. Government at the International Congress of the Red Cross held in Geneva. Solomons was elected vice president of that Congress. One of the original five members on the New York executive of the Red Cross Relief Committee, he served during the Spanish-American War when the board was enlarged to 25, presided over by Bishop Potter.

In Washington he had many friends among prominent people. To the publishing house of *Philip and Solomons* and its photographic gallery of notables he added a book department which became a literary headquarters to such personages as Ulysses S. Grant and Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase. Solomons' high place in public esteem can be deduced from the following incident. Schuyler Colfax, Vice President of the United States, had been scheduled to speak at the opening ceremony of a new Y.M.C.A. building. He could not appear. In his place came the devout Jew, Adolphus Solomons, who dedicated the pious Christian institution.

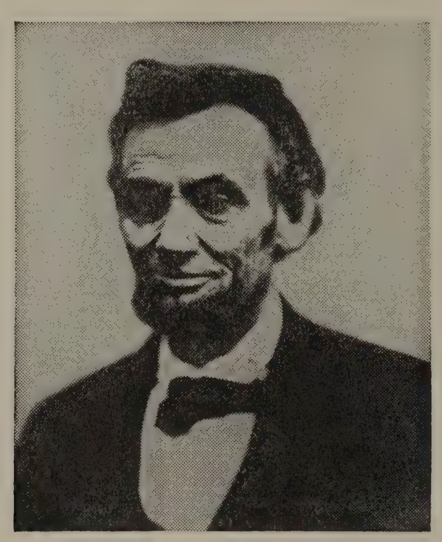
Comfortable, yet not wealthy, Solomons practiced philanthropy within his limited range and belonged to that small, select group who derive greater satisfaction in working for the public weal than

for personal betterment. His whole-hearted benevolence attracted notice at home and abroad. The then highly influential *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, founded in France to ameliorate the conditions of Jews everywhere, appointed him a member of its Central Committee and its North American treasurer. The Baron de Hirsch Fund, interested in Jewish colonization, made him general agent and director of its projects in the United States. As representative of the Alliance he advocated a home for chronic invalids and utilized the 100th birthday of Sir Moses Montefiore to promote the hospital in New York bearing the great benefactor's name.

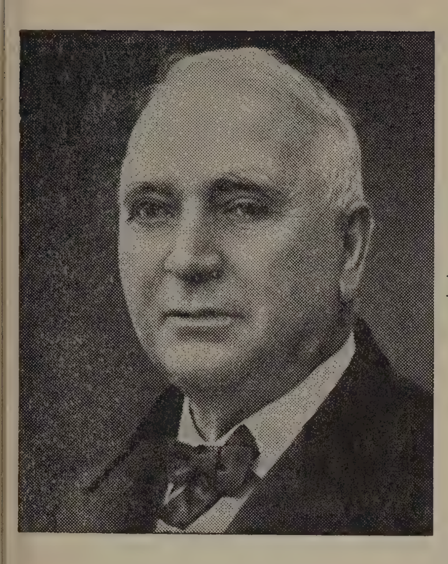
In a time of skepticism when the avant-guardes of science were undermining, perhaps unintentionally, the structures of religion, Solomons remained faithful to traditional Judaism. A modern and enlightened layman, he nevertheless wore a beard and strictly observed the Sabbath. Yet he was no obscurantist. While opposed to extreme Reform, he approved such changes as he considered healthy and progressive. Thus he became identified with the rising Conservative wing which sought to avoid the extremes of Orthodoxy or Reform. He took an active interest in the Jewish Theological Association and together with Cyrus Adler helped to maintain the college after the death of Sabato Morais and until its reorganization in 1902 by the vigorous Solomon Schechter.

The feelings of contemporaries towards Adolphus S. Solomons are summed up in the tribute of the American Jewish leader, Louis Marshall: "He believed in the sacred duty of personal service, and he performed that duty as a religious act, with cheerful heart, serious mind and willing hand, thoroughly and not perfunctorily. Though possessed of the creative intellect of a leader, he did not hesitate to follow. . . . Though firm in his convictions, he never obtruded his beliefs. To the appearance of a venerable patriarch there was conjoined an ever youthful interest in the world about him and in the welfare of his fellowmen. . . . With all his modernity and his unquestionable Americanism, he adhered, not only to the principles, but to the formal ceremonies of historic Judaism. . . . When he died,

on March 18, 1910, in his eighty-fourth year, he was gathered to his fathers, a faithful custodian of the noble traditions of his people, and a saintly champion of the deathless mission of Judaism."



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN APRIL 10, 1865.



1873

MOSES AARON DROPSIE

College Endower

The usual objection to a mixed marriage is that the offspring are lost to Judaism. If the father is Gentile, the children bearing his name often find it easy to lose their identity and merge into the dominant majority. If the mother remains a Christian, they are generally brought up in her faith. The exception happened in the Dropsie household. Aaron Dropsie and his Christian wife decided to give their offspring the freedom of selecting the religion that appealed to them best. Their son, Moses Aaron, when 14 years of age chose Judaism and throughout life remained a steadfast observer of Orthodoxy and a representative Jew.

After completing his studies in private schools, Moses was apprenticed to a watchmaker. Watch repairing went hand in hand with the jewelry business, which he entered. While earning money, he read law in his spare time. Having saved up a sufficient sum, he decided to fit himself properly for the profession. He received valuable instruction in the office of Benjamin Harris Brewster, who later became Attorney-General of the United States. When admitted to the Bar, Moses Aaron was close to thirty. But the years he spent running

a store and handling money were by no means wasted. The experience proved valuable later on when he became involved in greater and far more complicated business.

Practice of law was no impediment to activity in politics. In fact, they went hand in hand before industrialization on a vast scale demanded specialization in law and made politics a profession. A year after his admission to the Bar, Moses Dropsie ran for Mayor of the Northern Liberties District of Philadelphia as candidate of the Whig party. His strong opposition to slavery brought him into the newly-founded Republican party, which four years later he helped to organize in Pennsylvania.

In Philadelphia, rapidly expanding after the Civil War, the need for better transportation became urgent. The electric streetcar had not yet been invented, but steam engines did drive trains and propel boats. Why not utilize the same idea for transit over the streets within the city? Here was a project for the civic minded to render a service to the growing metropolis. But the time, labor and capital invested should also inure to the benefit of the pioneers who would venture into a new, untried enterprise. Moses Dropsie became deeply involved in the building and operation of the Lombard and South Street Railway and served as its president from 1868 to 1882. Six years later he became president of the Green and Coates Street Passenger Railroad Company and held the position until 1905 when he died. Moses Aaron Dropsie became an important figure in transportation and street railways. The Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1870 appointed him chairman of the commission to construct a bridge across the Schuylkil River at South Street.

With his economic situation secure, Moses Dropsie could direct his attention to organizations that interested him. He always did his part in charity and remained all his life an active member on the *adjunta* of Sephardic Mikveh Israel, the oldest synagogue in Pennsylvania. But education claimed his deepest concern. Recognizing that only through education can Judaism survive, he was on the board of Philadelphia's ably administrated Hebrew Education As-

sociation for more than half a century; he has the distinction of being the first honorary life member of the Board of Officers of the Society.

Activity in the Hebrew Education Association enabled him to help organize and direct the first Jewish college in America. There had been much heated discussion pro and con as to the necessity for a separate school of higher learning for Jews in America. In 1867 Maimonides College was founded in Philadelphia for training rabbis, teachers and educated laymen. Its high standards can be ascertained from the number and variety of subjects offered. Greek, Latin, German, French, Hebrew, Chaldaic and their literatures were in the curriculum. Natural science, history, mathematics, astronomy, moral and intellectual philosophy, constitutional history and the laws of the United States were courses for general culture. Students for the rabbinate could take belles-lettres, homiletics and comparative theology. Scholars desiring a thorough-grounding in Jewish wisdom could select the Bible, the Mishna, the Talmud and their commentaries, Jewish history and literature, Jewish philosophy, Maimonides and Joseph Caro's *Shulchan Aruch*.

So elaborate a program for an institution of higher learning proved to be premature. American Jews were not yet ready with finances, nor were they conditioned spiritually for an undertaking so ambitious. That the college came into existence at all was due to the energies, the contagious enthusiasm of Isaac Leeser, rabbi and publisher of the Occident, a Jewish monthly. When Leeser died in 1869, his place was filled by the scholarly rabbi of Rodeph Sholem, Marcus Jastrow, who without a periodical of national circulation could not wield the influence or command the respect of his predecessor. The college found it difficult to carry on. A substantial sum was necessary to tide over a period of industrial depression, and the burden of support fell almost entirely upon the Philadelphia community. Moses A. Dropsie was president of Maimonides College during its six years of existence. But he had not as yet accumulated the wealth that came later, or he would have sustained the school until better times when

American Jewry increased in size, in resources, in prestige. Consequently the first Jewish college in America closed its doors in the midst of the disastrous money panic of 1873.

The next decade witnessed a great catastrophe that burst upon the Jews in Russia. The assassination of the former liberal and later conservative Czar Alexander II was the signal for his son Alexander III to launch a large-scale campaign of murder, robbery, rapine and spoliation against the defenseless Jews. Thousands in utter destitution were fleeing the benighted land of oppression. Boats were bringing more and more refugees to American ports. A difficult and heavy task fell to American Jewry which had neither the means nor the organization to cope with the problem. Help had to come from abroad.

Assistance came from the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, which had been launched 20 years earlier in France to alleviate the distress of Jewish groups in times of disaster, as well as for other purposes. This organization of about 25,000 members, the largest and most influential at that time, was deeply engrossed in the many problems arising out of the great Russian-Jewish exodus. Since the United States offered the best haven to immigrants, the Alliance set up branches in the larger American cities. Moses A. Dropsie was selected to head the Alliance in Philadelphia.

From the minutes of this organization we learn of the tasks that confronted its active directors. About 100 immigrants were sent by the New York committee for settlement in the Philadelphia area. It was no easy matter to find employment for people without any kind of craft or knowledge of the English language. This assignment was hardly completed when the papers reported that the steamship *Illinois* left Liverpool with 300 refugees on board enroute for Philadelphia. The Alliance had to call upon Philadelphia Christians for assistance. Dobbins and Kingsley offered the Transcontinental Hotel, partly in need of repairs, gratis. Money was raised for furniture, bedding, supplies, food and necessities. Clothing, drugs and medicines were donated. A corps of doctors agreed to administer medical care to those who required attention. With the help of Mayor King,

Moses Dropsie obtained the free use of the Pennsylvania Railroad depot on Market and 32nd Streets. The railroad also furnished a locomotive and cars to transport the immigrants to the depot. The government permitted its revenue cutter to carry the committee down the river to meet the steamer.

On March 4, 1882 a mass meeting crowded the Academy of Music to express sympathy for the refugees from Russia and to protest against their inhuman treatment. On the stage sat the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Mayor of Philadelphia and other prominent officials. Eloquent speeches were delivered by distinguished citizens, including Protestant and Catholic clergymen. Resolutions read by John Wanamaker were adopted calling for contributions to assist the exiles and requesting the President of the United States to present the protests of Pennsylvania and the American people to the Russian Government in St. Petersburg. It would appear that Moses A. Dropsie and his committee acquitted themselves quite creditably.

Lawyer, man of affairs, devotee of organizations, Moses Dropsie was also a scholar and writer. He translated Mackeldy's *Handbook of the Roman Law* and published a separate volume about codicils and gifts in the event of death, entitled *Roman Law and Testaments*. His *Panegyric on the Life of Isaac Leeser* reveals appreciation of the rabbi, editor and educator. The Jewish Reformers he castigated in *Deform Judaism and the Study of Hebrew*. Anxious for the *Occident* to continue after Leeser's death, he offered to make good any deficit if the publication went on. Students reading law at his office received his personal instruction; all of them including Mayer Sulzberger, achieved eminence at the Bar.

Realizing that the average graduate acquires little or no knowledge of Jewish wisdom at American universities, Moses Dropsie bequeathed the bulk of his estate, close to a million dollars, for the founding of a college to promote instruction in the Bible, rabbinical learning, Hebrew and cognate languages and their literatures. Under the provisions of the will no tuition would be charged to qualified students, to be admitted without distinction as to creed, color or sex.

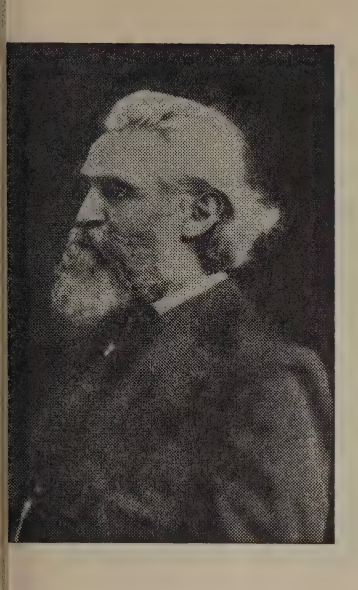
Today Dropsie College functions in Philadelphia as a monument to the broad vision and spiritual insight of its founder. The first president, Cyrus Adler, was succeeded by Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, who has broadened the scope and increased the facilities of this institution of higher learning for post-graduate students in accordance with the testament of Moses Aaron Dropsie.

On May 22, 1957 the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning celebrated its 50th anniversary. In his Founder's Day address President Neuman could with just pride declare:

> "As we gaze back upon the fifty years of existence of the College, we behold Dropsie's faith gloriously vindicated. The record of our alumni, drawn literally from all parts of the world, and functioning in academic institutions spread over four continents; their writings and the writings of the famed scholars on our faculty, who are also a spiritual composite of the best that diverse cultural centers of the world offer, would even in normal times have constituted a significant contribution to Jewish, to American and to world scholarship. But who can forget, in the tragic era of the past half century, the devastation that was wrought upon the ancient centers of learning in the war-torn countries, and particularly the blight of physical, spiritual and intellectual death that extinguished every spark of life in the schools of sacred learning that were once the pride and the glory of Judaism.



DROPSIE COLLEGE, PHILADELPHIA.



1874

LEOPOLD DAMROSCH

Music in the U.S.A.

By the waters of Babylon Jewish aptitude for music obtained recognition when the victors asked their captives to sing the songs of Zion. With all the rigors of travel on foot the conquered brought along musical instruments. They were the Levites of the destroyed Temple who sang psalms to the accompaniment of harps, flutes, oboes, zithers, cymbals and trumpets. This prepossession with music survived dispersion and persecution. When Europe permitted all classes and religions to participate in its culture, Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Halevy, Offenbach, Goldmark, Rubinstein ranked among the foremost creators of music in the 19th century.

The oversupply of talent in Europe forced many unemployed musicians to seek their fortunes in the New World. Among them came Max Maretzek of Moravia, a Jewish musician, man of letters, raconteur, bon vivant and executive of some ability. In New York he was the first impresario to carry on from 1848 to 1851 four consecutive seasons of Italian opera, a venture replete with many hazards in a world not quite ready for spectacular music drama. His ups and downs are vividly described in a series of letters to promi-

nent European scholars and musicians, published 1855 in a sprightly volume, *Crotchets and Quavers.*

Maretzek, having studied under a pupil of Mozart, was a qualified conductor aware of the musical currents of his day. He is said to have produced for the first time in America as many as 36 works composed during the golden era of opera. Among his premieres were such classics of their day as *Rigoletto, William Tell, Il Trovatore, Le Prophete, Forza del Destino, L'Africaine, Romeo et Juliette, Traviata, Faust.* Although he composed songs, orchestral numbers, chamber music and two operas, Max Maretzek is remembered as the producer who for 30 years presented good music to the American public and the first to establish Italian opera permanently in New York. His book *Sharps and Flats* contains shrewd observation on American traits and manners that are interesting source material for social historians.

Other Jewish impresarios who helped develop musical appreciation in the U.S.A. were the Austrian brothers, Moritz and Max Strakosch. As pianist, Moritz toured Germany, then took up vocal training in Italy. He came to America in 1850 and several years later conducted Italian opera in New York. But he is remembered neither as singer, pianist, composer nor conductor. When 25 he married Amelia Patti of New Orleans and discovered that her eight-year-old sister, Adelina, had phenomenal vocal gifts. She traveled with him through her 11th year singing in concerts. Promoting American-born Adelina Patti to top place in the singing world gained Moritz Strakosch prestige with artists. He received offers to manage the greatest singers of the day and brought to the U.S.A. the gifted soprano, Christine Nilsson, as well as the tenor, Italo Campanini. He introduced the American prima donna, Clara Louise Kellogg, to the London public. It required daring to produce operas or present singers at concerts to the brash America of the mid-19th century.

Far more important to the development of musical taste in America were the Damroschs. Leopold Damrosch was born in 1832 in the city called Posen by Prussians and Poznan by Poles. At nine the boy

showed a strong propensity for the violin, but his parents did not relish seeing their son a fiddler, an occupation scorned by the *respectable* in the early 19th century. On the other hand medicine was highly honored among Jews, who had hitherto experienced great difficulties in obtaining admission to medical schools. Now with restrictions somewhat relaxed by the Emancipation, it seemed absurd to bypass the opportunity of becoming a doctor. Leopold had to study music secretly in the homes of his friends. Yet he graduated with high honors from the University of Berlin and attempted to practice medicine in his home city.

Leopold was soon touring the less important cities of Europe playing the violin as a virtuoso. His performance impressed Franz Liszt who appointed him first violinist in the famous orchestra he directed for the Duke of Weimar. The greatest pianist of his day held Leopold in high regard and dedicated to him the orchestral piece *Tasso,* something Liszt did very seldom; his other two dedications went to Hector Berlioz and Richard Wagner. Leopold's reputation grew and Posen made him director of its City Theater. When 30 years old and married he became conductor of the Philharmonic at Breslau and directed 12 concerts annually with famous artists on the programes. He worked hard, appeared in recitals as soloist, organized the Breslau Orchesterverein and had great difficulty making ends meet for a growing family.

In America the German population had grown since the 1848 exodus and benefited from the prosperity brought on by the Civil War. Here the Germans had transplanted their singing societies, their männerchors and saengerfests and felt pride in German music as being the best in the world. To lead its singing clubs and perhaps demonstrate the superiority of music coming out of the Fatherland, the New York Arion Society in 1871 sent to Breslau for Leopold Damrosch to become its director. In no time he established a reputation as violinist and composer. Soon he and Theodore Thomas ranked as the foremost conductors in America. The Damrosch home became a sort of shrine that attracted music lovers and inspired them to go forth as musical missionaries. At his home Damrosch

started the Oratorio Society in 1873 with about 50 members. A decade later its membership rose to 500 and ranked easily among the world's leading choral groups.

The rivalry between Leopold Damrosch and Theodore Thomas, also German born, grew quite bitter. In 1876 Damrosch became conductor of the Philharmonic Society, but probably owing to the strong partisanship he yielded the post to his rival and formed the Symphony Society. For half a century both organizations played a vital role in the musical life of New York. Damrosch attempted a festival in music unprecedented in the U.S.A. for scale and scope. As conductor of the Arion, the Oratorio and the Symphony Societies he was able to assemble a chorus of 1200 together with an orchestra of 250 instruments. In the huge Seventh Regiment Armory he scored unforgettable triumphs with the greatest of all requiems by Berlioz, with Rubinstein's *Tower of Babel,* with Handel's *Messiah* and Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony.*

Meanwhile a feud in "high society" led to the building of a new opera house. Socialites descended from the *nouveau riche* of the Revolutionary era snubbed the "upstarts" who made their millions during the Civil War period. Leaders of the older society controlled the opera's "diamond horseshoe" and saw to it that Mrs. William Vanderbilt could not purchase a box at the Academy of Music for any price. Egged on by their wives, a group of Wall Street tycoons acquired a plot on Broadway between 39th and 40th Streets and erected a huge theater, which their foes dubbed the "Yellow Brewery." The owners leased the Metropolitan Opera House in 1883 to Henry E. Abbey, who with his Jewish partner, Maurice Grau, lost their shirts, so to speak, after the first season.

The trustees were in a jam. If such hardened managers as Abbey and Grau could go into the red, then what might be hoped from their successor? Opera, the most expensive form of musical entertainment, required a full-toned orchestra with competent conductors, a large chorus, singing stars who demanded high fees, scenery, costumes, mise-en-scene and a corps of trained mechanics. Such cruel overhead was enough to discourage the amateur patrons of

opera in competition with the established Academy of Music, backed by Wall Street magnates accustomed to produce their checkbooks to defray annual deficits. At this critical juncture appeared Leopold Damrosch, seemingly heaven-sent as Lohengrin himself.

The sensitive musician, Damrosch, was undoubtedly one of the two best conductors in all America. The New York Symphony and Oratorio Society attested to his organizing abilities. For 12 years he had managed the Arion Männergesangsverein successfully. Producing the great musical festival of 1881 demonstrated his fitness to stage a chorale in the grand manner. His singing societies were ready-made for chorus work and his well-trained orchestra could play in the Metropolitan. The reduced fees required for both groups would greatly lighten the Metropolitan's budget.

But exclusive German training and preferences unfitted Damrosch to conduct Italian opera, the only kind the New York public knew. Even this objection had its advantages. The world famous Italian stars demanding the highest compensation could be dispensed with in favor of competent German singers of the non-star category. The rich, overpowering orchestration in Wagner's music-dramas often buried the human voice under symphonic avalanches. As for the bejeweled box owners, it made little difference to those who came late and left early whether the plays were sung in German or Italian. Leopold Damrosch was chosen director of the Metropolitan Opera House for the 1884-1885 season at $10,000 a year.

The strongest motive that impelled Leopold Damrosch to accept the offer of James Roosevelt, president of the Metropolitan directorate, was the opportunity of bringing German opera, chiefly Wagner's music-dramas, to the American public. This curious loyalty reveals a strange quirk in human nature. Jews had little reason to feel grateful to Germany after a checkered history of 1000 years in that land. In the 1870s modern anti-Semitism based on false racial-politico-economic theories was succeeding the former hate generated by religion. Richard Wagner, an apostle of the new creed, lost no opportunity of villifying Jews in general and Jewish musicians in particular. His notorious screed *Judaism in Music* subsequently

helped to inspire the weird philosophy of Hitler's Nazis that disgraced Germany in the eyes of decent people everywhere.

In the 19th century, music was considered the cosmopolitan speech that transcended national, racial and language barriers. Jewish artists took the concept seriously and attempted to live by the international formula that eschewed religion, race or nation. But Wagner's theory held that since Jews were not Germans racially they neither understood nor could they interpret German music, the deepest expression of the Teutonic soul. Of course he did not practice what he preached, since he eagerly utilized all the Jewish talent available to interpret his "music of the future." Under his direction, the bearded Herman Levi conducted at Bayreuth in 1882 the world premiere of the Christian allegory, *Parsifal.* Strangely enough Jews were his most fervent admirers and helped enormously in propagandizing Wagner's operas. Yet in *Judaism in Music* Wagner intimated what Hitler subsequently carried out—banishment of Jews from the art world of Germany.

Worship of Wagner, the musical genius, probably blinded Leopold Damrosch, as it did many others, from detecting the dangers lurking in Wagner the racist, who could seldom acknowledge merit in any composer not a German. Walter Damrosch writes in his autobiography, *My Musical Life*—"Money matters were to my father always so unimportant as far as he was concerned that I think he would have signed a contract in which he bound himself to pay $8,000 a year to the Metropolitan Opera House for the privilege of maintaining Wagnerian opera there." Yet half a century later, the assimilationist Leopold Damrosch, would have been roasted in the crematory at Dachau partly perhaps as a result of Richard Wagner's Aryan philosophy.

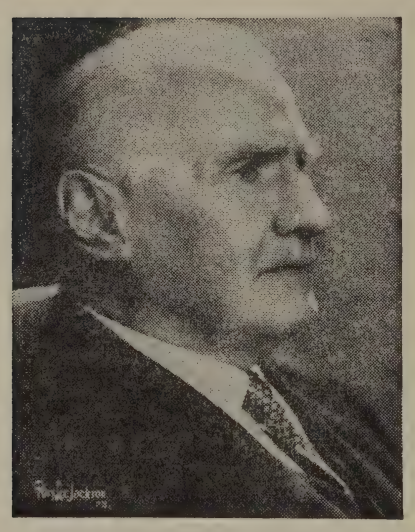
At the Metropolitan Opera House Leopold Damrosch achieved his greatest triumph. Italian opera was banished and all performances were sung in German. Of course the prodigious Wagnerian music dramas were the chief attraction, most of them heard for the first time in America. Never before did New York audiences listen to performances rendered so magnificently. The well-drilled chorus

assembled from the singing societies furnished mass and volume to each production. Under the Damrosch baton the Symphony Orchestra responded to the sensitive nuances demanded by the majestic music. The 52 year old manager-conductor, striving for perfection, strained his powers to their utmost. In addition he carried on the weekly task of training the Arion and Oratorio societies. During a rehearsal of Verdi's "Requiem" he complained of feeling ill and was rushed home in a cab. Pneumonia set in, and his resistance was weakened by overwork. Within the week he died, in a sense a martyr to the gigantic task of producing single-handedly the monumental works of Richard Wagner.

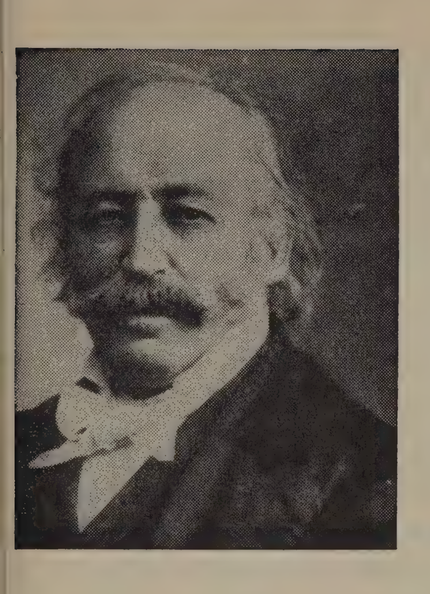
Immediately Walter stepped into his father's shoes. According to the theater's unwritten law the show must go on, even if the corpse of a close relative is lying at home. At 23 Walter closed the last week of the Metropolitan's season conducting such heavy artillery as Wagner's *Tannhauser* and *Walküre*. He fell heir to the Oratorio Society and the Symphony Orchestra and managed both successfully for a number of years. Walter Damrosch lived 88 years and had a distinguished career. He conducted for the Metropolitan Opera House, organized the Damrosch Opera Company and toured the length and breadth of the country with his orchestra, penetrating regions where good music was unknown. He wrote four operas, but his most popular compositions are the songs he set to Kipling's poems, *On the Road to Mandalay* and *The Hanging of Danny Deever*. After 42 years' service Walter Damrosch resigned as conductor of the Symphony Orchestra and joined the National Broadcasting Company as musical director. Perhaps his greatest contribution was popularizing music by broadcasting into the homes of millions who listened on the radio to his lectures on musical appreciation.

When Leopold Damrosch arrived in 1871, appreciation of music in the U.S.A. was slight. The Jewish, Italian and German groups were too small to exert influence upon the Anglo-Saxon majority, the least musical perhaps of all the European strains. Although trained in the German school of the great classics, Leopold favored the amateur chorus as a means of diffusing music among the plain

people. He certainly advanced musical knowledge in his adopted country. It is largely due to Leopold Damrosch, the efforts of his sons Frank and Walter, and to a host of other Jewish musicians that today Americans are a music-loving nation, rapidly developing a sense of musical values and aesthetics.



WALTER DAMROSCH.



1875

ISAAC M. WISE

Organizer of Reform

FOR ABOUT 1500 years Jews in Christendom faced the danger of annihilation. As long as religion dominated society and government survival continued to be the main Jewish concern. Everything therefore had to be subordinated to the problem of holding out until the arrival of the Messianic age. Pacifism was adopted as the best defense against the fierce enemy who would have welcomed open combat as a legitimate cause for complete destruction. Oppressive laws, economic strangulation, even physical violence, maintained the segregation imposed by the overwhelming and menacing power outside the ghetto walls.

Jews were virtually in a state of siege. And as in all warfare, inspired conviction had to bolster the morale of the beleagured. Of course, the original and ultimate source of spiritual strength lay in the Torah, with its revelation from Sinai, with its long line of prophets who foretold in powerful language their dispersion, their unprecedented suffering, their final redemption. Yet for sustaining day by day the unequal struggle and making life acceptable Rabbinic Judaism was admirably equipped. Only by disciplined obedi-

ence to the minute regulations laid down in the Talmud could a people, scattered and persecuted, without organization, hierarchy or priesthood, maintain its integrity through so dark an era.

As the 18th century advanced a change came about with the *Enlightenment.* The Age of Reason began to supersede the Era of Faith. Freedom of thought, tolerance in religion and equal protection of the law began to receive acceptance by the best minds. These explosive ideas stimulated the French Revolution, which declared war upon the divine institution of kingship as well as on the totalitarian monolithic church. The inspiring slogan of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" led to the demolition of ghetto walls and the liberation of its captive dwellers.

Progressive spirits were now pondering the status of Judaism in a changing world. Would the old forms evolved during the medieval gloom be suited for the century of philosophy and progress? The majority were content with the practices and ceremonies of orthodoxy that had bound their forefathers. But a minority strove to reform the ritual, beautify its music with organ and mixed choirs, admit women as equal participants, shorten the service and use the vernacular for prayer and sermon. Such was the religious climate of 1819 when Isaac Mayer Wise was born in Bohemia, then ruled by reactionary Austria.

Typical of his time and place, the boy gathered Hebrew learning at *heder,* the religious elementary school, also from his father and grandfather, and in the more advanced *yeshivah* at Prague. A government decree, intended more to restrict than to benefit, required secular academic knowledge of rabbis. For two years Isaac Mayer studied at the university, then became rabbi at Radnitz in Bohemia. Habsburg rule, still guided by Holy Alliance principles, interfered with the internal life of Jews, who could marry only by governmental permit. The young rabbi, filled with the revolutionary fervor then in the air, resented bureaucratic control of private rights and migrated in 1846 to America, already the land of his allegiance spiritually.

In New York, the native optimism of Isaac Wise received a jolt.

The city was neither beautiful nor inviting. The German immigrants he contacted were poor, crude and struggling hard to earn their bread. Those with a modicum of education appeared interested only in material advancement and advised him to start peddling. The only encouraging note was sounded by Rabbi Max Lilienthal who officiated in three synagogues. Wise found orthodoxy firmly established; only Temple Emanu-El had made a start towards reform. With a wife and child to support, the future leader was happy when Albany's orthodox congregation offered him the position of rabbi.

Some congregants raised eyebrows when their rabbi organized a choir of both sexes. Next he prepared for the confirmation of girls together with boys at the Shavuos service. Opposition became strong when Wise was excommunicated by some orthodox rabbis in New York. The president, hitherto friendly, turned hostile and forbade Wise to officiate for the New Year. When the rabbi proceeded to open the Ark and take out the Torah Scroll, President Spanier struck him and knocked down his headgear. Prosecution and civil suit followed. A prominent judge offered Wise a partnership, and the lawyers of Albany agreed to admit him to the Bar without examination. A promising legal career beckoned. He was strongly tempted, and his wife urged him to forsake the rabbinate after the public insult. But when the congregation split and the progressives organized Beth El with Wise as rabbi, he decided to continue his lifework.

Albany offered no attraction as the base of his operations. Elected by the cultured and Americanized congregation in Charleston, which had already instituted certain reforms, he declined the call after Albany friends frightened his wife about the dangers of yellow fever. Intuitively Wise avoided the northeastern seaboard where orthodoxy was entrenched and the reformers too radical. Instinct led to Cincinnati, the gate city to the midwest and south, without vested interests to safeguard the sanctity of the traditional ritual. In this virgin territory new arrivals would be amenable to such reforms as had taken root in the fatherland. The choice was a happy one; he remained with Bene Jeshurun until his death in 1900.

Thinking Jews generally were ready to concede that certain reforms might prove beneficial. Perhaps the service in the synagogue *was* too long and repetitious. Prayers for reinstating animal sacrifices as of yore might be eliminated. The second days of certain holidays were not authorized in the Torah. No one objected to better decorum. But the Orthodox felt that once excisions began there would be no telling where they might stop. Subsequent developments in Reform more than justified their alarms. Elimination of all reference to the Messiah and the restoration of Zion went contrary to the comforting hopes that had sustained Jews during millennia of persecutions. Attachments to the Talmud were too strong to be snapped by resolutions of deliberative bodies. The Sabbath, the dietary laws, the many hoary ceremonies and time honored customs could not be abolished by the vestries of synagogues.

In Germany the conflict between the tradition-minded majority and the reformers waxed bitter enough for governmental interference. Opposition of the Orthodox, approved by the state, stopped Reform's increase as well as its radical tendencies. But in the U.S.A. Reform Judaism blossomed forth numerically and ideologically to dimensions undreamed of in the Old World. The surprising growth of American Reform was largely due to the energy, leadership and organizing powers of Isaac M. Wise.

The personality and talents of Wise contributed to the shaping of the reform movement. Forceful preaching and trenchant, lively prose in German and English drove home his message. Yet there were others as articulate and perhaps even more erudite. Before his arrival at least three influential congregations had introduced and carried on a modernized service. But no one could equal Wise as an organizer. The promotional gifts of Isaac M. Wise raised Reform to the dominating position in Jewish life until disputed by the emergence of East European Jewry.

Unity in American Judaism was virtually an obsession with Wise. Within three years after his arrival he joined with Isaac Leeser, the influential champion of traditional Judaism, in calling for unity in religious life. The eight congregations that responded were not

adequate to form a federation on a national scale. Immigration was increasing and in 1855 Wise again made an attempt. The co-operation of Isaac Leeser could be secured only by subordinating the more radical objectives of Reform to the compromise formula: "The Talmud contains the traditional, legal, and logical exposition of the biblical laws which must be expounded and practiced according to the comments of the Talmud." This was no abject surrender of principle. Wise, reformer that he was, nevertheless had a reverence for tradition. But above all the leader and builder felt that only by following a give-and-take course do institutions come into existence. He was eager for American Jewish unity. Possibly in the back of his head lingered the notion that with the unification firmly established, the reform element would not only lead but would ultimately absorb the more liberal of the Orthodox.

Of all attempts to unify American Jews, the Cleveland Conference of 1855 came closest to succeeding. Its failure was due not to Orthodox opposition but to the intransigence of radical reformers led by David Einhorn. This defeat carried its own lesson which subsequently proved useful. Wise came to realize that an organization could succeed only if its constituents have common aims and interests. Organizing on a national scale had to wait until his adherents multiplied. Meanwhile he led a busy life editing the *American Israelite* in English and *Die Deborah* in German, writing numerous essays, two histories, eight novels, two plays, about ten books on theology, all the while preaching, lecturing, dedicating synagogues, and furthering Reform Judaism throughout the land.

For two decades Wise labored at his cherished plan of uniting American Judaism. Time and experience modified his original design. He had to forego all hopes of attracting the Orthodox. But strangely, the eastern radicals led by David Einhorn also had to be ignored. To Wise the synagogue was the unit of Jewish life. Therefore organizing the units that comprised laity and clergy represented the soundest procedure. In July 1873 delegates of 34 synagogues from the West and South met in Cincinnati and formed the "Union of American Hebrew Congregations." They adopted a broad program

for stimulating and developing Judaism, for relieving Jews from oppression and discrimination, for promoting religious instruction, for establishing schools of Jewish learning and institutions, for the welfare and progress of Judaism. This led to a rival union by the radical Reformers, but ultimately the eastern synagogues one by one, including Einhorn's, joined the Cincinnati organization. Today the Union of American Hebrew Congregations consists of about 550 synagogues with approximately 200,000 members. The success of this organization was demonstrated when both the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America and the Conservative United Synagogue of America imitated the Wise project.

The formation of the Union was largely motivated by the need of a seminary for training rabbis. On arrival Wise saw the necessity and in 1855 started the short lived Zion College. The rabbinical situation was far from satisfactory. An immigrant who could chant the prayers and slaughter cattle and fowl according to the ritual would function as minister in the synagogue. There were no native born or home-bred rabbis. Even if a youth did aspire to the rabbinate, he could not find a training school. Wise feared that Judaism in the U.S.A. would disappear unless the spiritual guides were English speaking rabbis with Jewish learning and secular education, who were above all permeated with the American spirit. He held that only the training by an American institution could produce a satisfactory rabbi. This opinion was not shared by David Einhorn and others who, under the spell of European culture, preferred German as the language of prayer in preference to English or Hebrew.

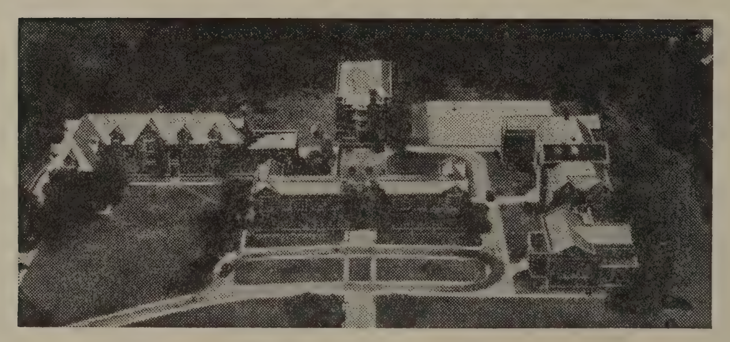
With the Union of American Hebrew Congregations as sponsor, it was not too difficult for Wise to form in 1875 the Hebrew Union College. As a result of his many years of labor, nine students registered, classes met at two synagogues in Cincinnati, and 14 books made up the library. Wise with an assistant constituted the faculty. Out of this modest beginning grew one of the great institutions of Jewish learning. Today six buildings stand on 18 acres in a fashionable Cincinnati neighborhood. Many scholars of high reputation have served on its faculty. Of its 600 graduate rabbis, some have held

the pulpits of the most influential temples. The library exceeds 100,000 volumes and contains rare collections of communities no longer in existence. A printing press turns out the publications of its professors and graduates. Since its foundation the Hebrew Union College has been the heart and soul of Reform Judaism.

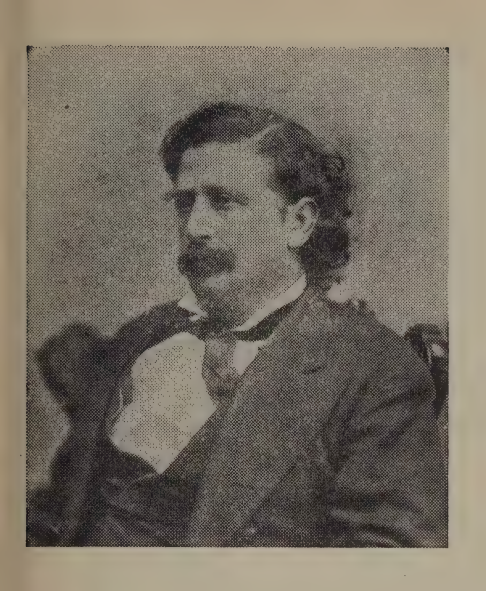
The arch of Reform still needed its capstone. Lurking in the back was an element of anarchy that could disrupt a system lacking some high level of central authority. Without an aware laity conscious of a tradition, and perhaps indifferent to it, each temple could practice the form of Judaism that appealed best to its rabbi. No common *sidur* coordinated the service. Consequently there were almost as many different prayer services as synagogues. Wise worked long and hard to create a permanent council that would act as a synod to lead and direct Reform Judaism. It was a proud day in 1889 for 70-year-old Isaac M. Wise to open at Detroit the Central Conference of American Rabbis. This convocation became a permanent body that commands respect and obedience without the power to coerce or impose sanctions. It adopted the Union Prayer Book, which effected a uniform service. Neither dogmatic nor authoritarian, this liberal Synhedrion, operating along democratic lines, enunciates its principles that are hardly final, much less irrevocable. The radical Pittsburgh Platform adopted in 1885 has been somewhat modified or distilled, at least in practice if not in theory. The former opposition to Zionism has mellowed to a virtual acceptance, particularly since the emergence of Medinat Israel.

Like many leaders of high capacity, Rabbi Wise had some peculiar blind spots together with contradictory tendencies that verged on the ambivalent. A product of the *Enlightenment* and rooted in the prevailing humanitarianism, he remained coldly passive to the burning question of the day: abolition of slavery. An ardent American patriot, he could summon little passion for the war to preserve the Union. The nobility and greatness of Lincoln he recognized only after the emancipator's martyrdom. Strangely he charged the disappearance of the old stock of American Jews to the rigors of orthodoxy, never perceiving that his own pallied monotheism, without the

binding forces of ritual, ceremonies, individual prayer or personal study offered even less resistance to intermarriage, conversion or total disappearance. Optimism swept him to the brink of naivete when he declared that in the near future all Americans regardless of breed would accept his form of liberal Judaism. Unable to evaluate the "idiosyncrasies of the late immigrants," he looked with cool pity upon the East European refugees streaming in, never realizing that with their vast potentialities they would after a generation surpass his wildest dream about the constructive power and creative forces of American Jewry. Ignoring the open ferocity of the Russian pogroms, the repulsive hypocrisy in Roumanian discrimination, and blind to the perils in the racist politico-economic anti-Semitism arising before his eyes in cultured Germany, Austria-Hungary and France, he saw the immediate Jewish future in the rosiest light. Steeped in a shallow rationalism, he detested Zionism as a mystic form of heresy. A haven of refuge for the persecuted in a Jewish State he dismissed as unnecessary, since anti-Semitism would disappear within a generation. Yet in spite of shortcomings and deficiencies, Isaac Mayer Wise stood out a giant in his generation and remains a truly considerable figure in American Jewish history.



HEBREW UNION COLLEGE,
CINCINNATI, OHIO.



1876

EDWIN W. MOISE

South Carolina Red Shirt

ABRAHAM AND SARAH MOISE felt quite secure on their plantation of many broad acres in San Domingo until awakened one night in 1791 and rushed to the sea coast. On reaching Charleston they learned that the white planters on the Island had been massacred in the revolt of the slaves. The Moises had good reason to be grateful to their faithful slave who, after saving them, became General Moise and a leader in the newly proclaimed Republic of Haiti.

The family multiplied and became too numerous for one city. Some remained and some achieved distinction in other localities. Abraham Moise, Jr. practiced law in Charleston and made a mark in politics with his eloquence. Columbus Moise, a member of the Washington Volunteers in the Seminole War, wrote verse and became prominent in New Orleans. His son was Chief Justice of the Territorial Supreme Court of Nevada in 1880. Theodore S. Moise attained considerable popularity as a portrait painter, and the blind poetess Penina Moise is still celebrated for her synagogical hymns. Yet if a poll be taken in this noted family to select its most eminent member the vote would undoubtedly go to Edwin Warren Moise, Adjutant General of South Carolina in 1876.

In 1832 Edwin W. Moise was born in Charleston where several months later a convention would decide that any State might nullify a Federal law. His school education ended at fourteen and the boy went to work, first in a wholesale grocery store, then for two years at the Registry office where he could read Law during odd hours. Charleston was then plagued with epidemics and although Edwin enrolled as a volunteer nurse he escaped small pox and the more dreaded yellow fever. He opened a small business on Vendue Range and was doing well enough to marry Esther Lyon, visiting from Petersburg, Va. when the great storm of 1855 flooded the store and ruined his prospects.

Charleston was declining in prosperity and Edwin found it difficult to earn a living for wife and child. An offer came from Raphael J. Moses of Columbus, Ga., a prominent lawyer, politician and plantation owner who had married Edwin's aunt. The Charleston fire of 1837 had put him in the identical situation that confronted Moise. The job called for running the flour mill, keeping books and what was more important, it enabled him to finish his studies in the Moses law office. The energies of Moise seemed prodigious. The alarm clock would awaken him at four in the morning and he would read law until six. The tasks on the farm began at seven and occupied him all day. Within a short time Edwin became a lawyer and began to practice in his uncle's office.

Success came quickly and at the outbreak of the war five years later, Moise was able to spend $10,000, all he had, in organizing a company of 120 cavalrymen which was incorporated into the Confederate Army. Not that he was a fire-eating jingo. Unlike Raphael J. Moses and most of Georgia's public men, he opposed secession in many speeches throughout the State, a courageous stand in 1860, but like Robert E. Lee and many others, he went along with his State once war was declared.

Captain Moise fought in the Army in Northern Virginia under General Lee, participated in many important battles and was wounded at Gettysburg, but not seriously. He saw much service and distinguished himself in several dangerous encounters. Raised from

Captain to Major in 1863, he commanded his regiment with distinction, and although recommended by Robert E. Lee for promotion, his rightful commission of Colonel was somehow never issued.

Perhaps the most dangerous engagement took place when Major Moise was detailed to burn the bridge at Smithfield, N. C. in 1865. General Butler's Division and General Hampton's Corps were retreating from Bentonville to Raleigh, at which place they went through their last fight. The fire and smoke would cover their retreat and the river might delay the progress of the enemy. Major Moise fired the bridge and escaped amid the thick shower of bullets with the Federal troops in hot pursuit.

After the declaration of peace he returned to Columbus and found the place too desolate for another start. Having a few relatives in Sumter, S. C. he arrived on a wounded horse and sold it to pay for his family's first month's board. The war left deep scars in the South. Gone were the large plantations, the life of leisure and repose. The ex-soldier remained in Sumter and started at the bottom. Law practice had to be supplemented with farming. Building houses to replace the ruin and desolation proved more of a public service than a private gain. Yet, Moise prospered to the extent that he was able to maintain a summer home at the seashore on Sullivan's Island.

Success in private affairs enabled him to give attention to public matters. Concentration on things political, social and charitable elected him Warden of Sumter for several terms. Especially interested in education, he once donated his annual salary of $2100 so that the public school system might take firm root. His talents as an orator were greatly in demand. Virtually the official spokesman in Sumter on public occasions, he would also be invited to speak at functions throughout the state. In an age of oratory, his poetic imagery, his transitions from humor to pathos, his emotional romanticism appealed highly. Besides writing verse, he showed competence in journalism and successfully edited for a time *The Sumter News* and *The Sumter Watchman.*

Meanwhile, affairs in South Carolina were spiraling downward. A ruthless and powerful ring, misnamed the Radicals, dominated

the nation and sought revenge on the crushed Confederacy. They disfranchised the cream of Dixie's population and gave the ballot to the liberated slaves. These Afro-Americans, scarcely literate and often naive, were exploited and bedeviled by a horde of unscrupulous white fortune hunters who, like jackals, trooped down from the North to fatten on the spoils of the defeated. Of all the states going through the nightmare of Reconstruction, South Carolina was perhaps the greatest sufferer. Here *Carpetbagger* rule was discrediting the democratic process, besides generating fierce animosity against the Negro. The time was drawing near for the defeated old order to challenge Republican control at the polls. The Grant administration backed the state regime with troops, consisting largely of Negroes from other states. The *carpetbagger* intruders joined the native *scalawags* in a veritable witches Sabbath revelry, pillaging the public domain. Matters reached a pass when the Republican Governor from the North, Daniel H. Chamberlain, whose authority was upheld by Federal bayonets, cried out in alarm: "The civilization of the Puritan and Cavalier, the Roundhead and Huguenot, is in peril."

In the white population the call for blood was running throughout the State. Cooler heads, among them Edwin Moise, counseled moderation, but the more extreme *Straight-Outs* of '76 won. Then the ex-Confederate loyalists flocked to the banner of Wade Hampton and his *Red Shirts,* determined to break the iron monopoly of corruption, armed force and racial solidarity.

Yet there followed a campaign almost unparalleled for restraint and discipline under wise leadership. South Carolina resembled a powder keg ready to explode at the slightest concussion. But violence or bloodshed could only help the Republicans under the wing of the National Government. Strength and determination had to be demonstrated by the Hampton forces to encourage their own followers and attract new adherents. Efforts were also made to induce Negroes to vote for their former masters. The entire nation was watching the campaign which might also decide the election of the President.

Among the top leaders stood Edwin Warren Moise, selected for his past record and high reputation. His consideration and kindness

to Negroes became an important asset for vote getting. At many rallies the silver-tongued orator spoke on the same platform with Wade Hampton, candidate for governor. The campaign took on the moral fervor of a crusade. The *Red Shirts* felt themselves Maccabeans dedicated to a sacred cause. On November 17, 1876, Wade Hampton was elected Governor amid the wildest enthusiasm and white supremacy was restored. No event in South Carolina history, not even the war itself, left so deep an impress on popular consciousness. The people, elated and jubilant, looked up to their leaders as saviors who brought back decency and dignity in government.

Edwin W. Moise was elected Adjutant and Inspector General high on the Hampton ticket, actually receiving more votes than his chief. Two years later he was re-elected but refused to run for a third term in 1880. Instead he became a Presidential Elector. It was high time to get back to the law office and support his wife and twelve children. He remained in active practice until 1891 and then retired —not by reason of any lessening of energy or vigor. He simply felt that he had received his share and now thought that younger men should take his place. His interest in public affairs, especially in education, remained keen while tending the little farm, satisfying his craving for wide reading and devoting the remaining years to his family and friends.

His impact as a lawyer is best described by his son, L. Clifton Moise, writer and educator who, in a paper read before the Sumter County Historical Society, stated: "The General's success in winning cases lay in a large measure in his ability to sway his audience in his imaginative and eloquent appeal to those sentiments that he knew were deepest in their hearts, and his juries felt the pulsations of his heart were in harmony with their own. Short of stature, his posture erect, his rapid stride indicating unbounded energy, his voice vibrant with human sympathy, his heavy figure was a symbol of physical and moral power. Sometimes he took unusual means for getting results. Once, determined to stand no further delay on the part of a railroad against which he had won a suit for a client, he bought a powerful iron chain, annexed a lock to it, went to the

station at the time of arrival of one of its trains and with his own hands locked the engine to the tracks, thus preventing the train from proceeding on its way until an adjustment of his business was made. Whatever the attendant circumstances of this act may have been, I have told the story as truly consonant with his originality and daring."

Respected throughout the State and esteemed in his own district, yet General Moise was not spared a keen disappointment when in 1892 he ran for Congress. His election would have been a foregone conclusion but for the new force that had arisen in South Carolina: Tillmanism. The depressed price of cotton was pauperizing the small farmers and Ben Tillman seized the opportunity to attain power by agitating with vindictive force against bankers, lawyers, businessmen, the "Bourbons" as he labeled them. Elected Governor in 1890 "Pitchfork Ben" became dictator of State politics. He made special targets of the "Oligarchy," the aristocratic class of the pre-war era, the venerable figures of the Confederate and Reconstruction period. He brought about the defeat and retirement to private life of the revered hero, Wade Hampton, who people believed had saved the State from anarchy.

Loyalty to the conservative element exposed General Moise to the ire of Ben Tillman. Yet he defeated his Tillmanite opponent at the primary. Then G. W. Murray, a Sumter Negro, secured the Republican nomination and opposed the Democratic choice at the general election. The local Boards declared Moise the victor, but Murray appealed to the State Board of Canvassers dominated by Tillmanites. The State Board set aside the findings of the local Boards and gave the election to Murray. Moise thought it was useless to appeal to a Republican Congress and gave up the fight. Yet he felt cheated. It was a bitter pill to swallow for a Red Shirt who had helped restore white supremacy in his State, especially in view of the vicious vituperations that Ben Tillman spewed forth against the Negro.

General Moise continued his public services. Judge of agricultural products at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 he was also Commissioner of the South Carolina and West Indian Exposition held in

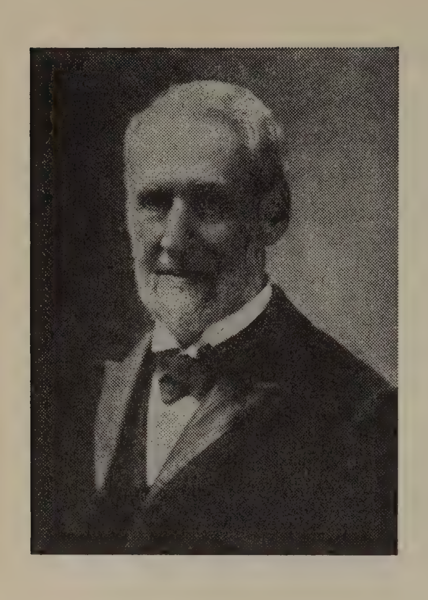
1901 at Charleston. The secret of his popularity lay, perhaps, in his colorful personality, a rare combination of practical ability and romantic idealism, forceful energy together with poetic elevation. On April 11, 1902 Wade Hampton died. At the memorial service at Sumter the General was the speaker. Describing the funeral his devoted friend said: "When the shades of night descended, women were still banking flowers on the already covered mound. These could be seen, but there was also there, what could not be seen save by the gifted eye: the spirit of South Carolina, draped in deepest gloom: from her right hand hung the spear, trailing the ground; from her left hand the shield depended, and from her bowed head the tears fell over the tomb of her noblest son. Wade Hampton with his latest breath had given his blessing to all of his people, white and black. Who here does not feel that he is richer for the blessing of so good, so great, so pure a man?"

Eight months later another orator eulogized Hampton's faithful lieutenant. Coming out of a coma in the faltering light of a December afternoon, Edwin Warren Moise uttered his last words "What a beautiful sunset."



CAPTAIN EDWIN W. MOISE.

IN CONFEDERATE UNIFORM.



1877

JOSEPH and JESSE SELIGMAN

International Bankers

For several generations American boys had their ambitions fired on reading books by an author whose newsboys and bootblacks rose to fame and fortune. One can only surmise how Horatio Alger hit upon his pattern: from rags to riches through pluck and perseverance. The answer may perhaps be supplied by Joseph Seligman in whose household the future writer became a tutor. There he had occasion to study the life story of an immigrant boy, who landed penniless, became a financier and rendered his adopted country great service in time of her deepest distress.

During a period of reaction and denial of rights, not unusual in Germany, Joseph Seligman managed to graduate from the Gymnasium of Erlangen and acquire what was equivalent to half a college education. Too sensible not to see that the native land offered little encouragement to Jews or under-privileged Teutons, he sought the land of opportunity.

A steerage passenger, he landed in the great depression of 1837, yet found a job in one of the Pennsylvania stores owned by Asa Packer. Soon he became private secretary to that up-and-coming mil-

lionaire and future founder of Lehigh University. The salary of $400 a year might have satisfied many a native, but 18-year-old Joseph sensed a better future in business. He turned his savings into merchandise and trudged from village to farm house, carrying a pack on his back, at the same time reciting passages of the Greek classics in the original text he had acquired at Erlangen.

The young peddler had the equipment for success. Shrewdness riveted in honesty, when driven by ambition and energy and held steady by thrift, simply could not miss. Contact with the grass roots made familiar the vernacular, the land and its people. A store in Lancaster was the reward of peddling. Joseph sent to Baiersdorf for his three younger brothers.

The plantations in the South held out greater promise for business than the small farms in Quaker Pennsylvania. His stock of merchandise was transported from Lancaster to Selma, Alabama. The brothers, branching out in various towns, but under the direction of Joseph, increased their resources and experience. The hospitable Southland possessed charm, but slavery was an evil too difficult to assimilate. By 1848 the Seligmans, now adult and Americanized, moved to New York and sent to Bavaria for their four younger brothers.

With manpower came increase of prosperity. In New York, Joseph and James started an importing business; William ran a clothing establishment in St. Louis, Mo.; while Jesse and Henry operated a store in Watertown. Ulysses Grant, a young lieutenant stationed at Sackett's Harbor on Lake Erie, came to buy and began a friendship with Jesse that extended to Joseph and the other Seligmans and lasted even after the soldier had served the U.S.A. as President.

In 1849, the goldrush to California swept the nation. Leaving their brother Henry to manage the store in Watertown, Jesse and Leopold decided to try their luck in the mad scramble for the Pacific Coast. They chose the perilous Isthmus route to transport a large stock of merchandise across to Panama. With the greatest difficulty they succeeded in hauling their goods to the seacoast; there were simply not enough mules to pull the carts.

In San Francisco Jesse showed the sound judgment that made him a successful business man. There were vacant wooden stores to be had, yet he chose the only brick building in the business area, despite the high rental. His judgment was amply vindicated when a fire swept San Francisco in May 1851 and burned down all the stores except his brick structure. For a time he alone had certain merchandise to sell; yet he took no advantage by raising prices. Jesse prospered, but not in prospecting for gold. By steady, hard work the brothers amassed a fortune. But Jesse did not confine all his energies to money-making. When lawlessness became a threat to security, Jesse joined the Vigilantes and took a leading part in establishing law and order. He was also a volunteer member of the fire brigade, the only agency to fight the flames that often menaced the overrun and overcrowded town. Again he could renew friendship with Ulysses S. Grant who was ordered to duty in the new frontier of get-rich-quick violence.

By the panic of 1858 the Seligman brothers had prospered and were more than ready to weather the financial hurricane. They looked up to Joseph as their leader and he wanted Jesse back in New York. The example of the Rothschilds pointed to the advantage of concentration and expansion within the family circle. With Joseph at the helm, they started banking but prudently held on to the profitable clothing business. This precaution proved fortunate, for shortly afterwards war between the States began and President Lincoln called for volunteers. Soon the largest mass of recruits ever yet enrolled in the American Army were under arms. The Seligmans were equipped to furnish the armed forces with uniforms on a large scale. They received huge contracts and after the war demonstrated their patriotism by carrying the million dollar debt owed by the Navy for an additional year—an extension highly appreciated by the harassed War Department.

Banking appealed most to Joseph and he expanded the scope of the New York institution until the Seligman brothers became an international organization with branches in London, Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, Frankfurt, New Orleans and San Francisco.

With the management of business at home in competent hands, Joseph Seligman directed his efforts to a special job in helping to save the Union. In Frankfurt, Germany, where the firm of Seligman and Stettheimer was already established, he used all his influence and persuasion in selling United States bonds. This was not easy, since the European upper crust generally favored the Confederacy. It has been repeated often that Seligman disposed of as many as $200,000,000 in Federal securities, a service in the opinion of the historian W. E. Dodd as helpful towards winning the war as the Battle of Gettysburg.

The services of the Seligmans enhanced their prestige in Washington. Joseph, already politically prominent, was among those who urged Lincoln to appoint U. S. Grant commander-in-chief of the Union armies. When Grant became President, he offered the post of Secretary of the Treasury to Joseph Seligman, who respectfully declined.

One day banker Seligman had a visit from a Justice of Alabama's Supreme Court. In desperate need of money, the State sent a distinguished son to negotiate a loan on virtually any terms. Animosities generated by the war had not yet subsided and the Alabaman was receiving the cold shoulder in New York's financial district. Wearily making the rounds, the discouraged "rebel" applied to the Seligman bank. Joseph looked sharply at the Southerner and recalled an incident that happened 30 years earlier. A young immigrant starting business in Selma, Joseph Seligman got into a fight with a citizen of some standing. In court, the foreigner without friends and not fluent in the language, was about to receive a stiff sentence when a lad under 15 asked to be heard. The boy had seen the scuffle and testified that not only was Seligman innocent but that the prosecutor's conduct was reprehensible. The boy who came to Joseph's rescue was now the Supreme Court Justice pleading for his State. Needless to say the loan was granted.

In 1877 Joseph Seligman was at the height of his career. Financial agent of the Government, a leader in Jewry, a friend of Presidents, and one of the committee which freed New York from the

tentacles of the notorious Tweed ring, he was the most prominent Jew in America. But neither character, prestige, nor patriotic service can ward off the fanged venom of a vicious anti-Semite.

The biggest department store in America and the largest wholesale business was owned by A. T. Stewart, who had amassed millions, yet remained a cunning skinflint, with a penurious complex. He had invested $2,000,000 in the Grand Union Hotel at Saratoga, at that time a Mecca for the vulger, the ostentatious and the newly rich, satirized in the "Gilded Age," by Mark Twain. Among the politicians, sportsmen and gamblers came banking moguls, merchant magnates and fashionable society to enjoy the garish splendors. Joseph Seligman came year after year to the Grand Union Hotel and was welcome. On June 13, 1877 he arrived with his family and applied for accommodations. The clerk informed him that Mr. Hilton had given instructions not to admit Israelites in the future.

The Henry Hilton who had issued the order was born in Ireland and served the corrupt Tweed gang in precinct politics until paid off with a judgeship. Now a power in the courts, he won or perhaps earned the good will of A. T. Stewart and became executor-trustee of the dead merchant's estate. The Grand Union Hotel incident created a sensation. Discussed in the press, in the pulpit, in social circles, it was in political circles considered a retaliation for Seligman's activities in smashing the Tweed machine.

While a minority applauded, the great majority condemned the mean gesture. Some expressed surprise that insult to a minority should stem from an Irish immigrant with memories of centuries-old discriminations at home. Others thought a Catholic should not easily forget the anti-Romanist riots in many American cities, or the more recent tactics of the Know-Nothing Party. Many Christians were no doubt exasperated, for merchants, Jews and Gentiles, throughout the land boycotted A. T. Stewart and Company until its wholesale business was utterly ruined. The retail store in New York was saved from extinction when John Wanamaker of Philadelphia took over and made it the leading department store in the

land. To Henry Hilton might apply Shakespeare's adage: "Beggars mounted run their horses to death."

Involvement in financial affairs of international scope never precluded his interest in civic or political matters. He worked for the city's betterment as chairman of the first Rapid Transit Commission and served on the Board of Education of New York. Prominent in the Republican Party, he was elected a vice-president of the Union League Club together with Peter Cooper and William Cullen Bryant. Joseph Seligman remained a leader in Jewish communal affairs until his death in 1880. One of the founders of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, he was also President of the American Roumanian Society, formed to assist the oppressed Jews in Roumania. Loyalty to Judaism did not preclude his interest in the teachings of Felix Adler. Always the intellectual concerned with ideas, he became the first President of the Society of Ethical Culture.

The humane streak in the Seligmans was demonstrated in their persistent efforts to assist the widow of President Lincoln. Henry Seligman, while head of the German branch of the Seligman banking house, learned of her presence in Frankfurt. He located Mrs. Lincoln in a dilapidated house living with her ailing son Tad in dire poverty. Henry wrote urgent letters to several Senators and Joseph used his influence with President Grant until Congress in 1870 finally approved the annual pension of $3000 which was reduced from the $5000 advocated by Charles Sumner, the proponent of the resolution.

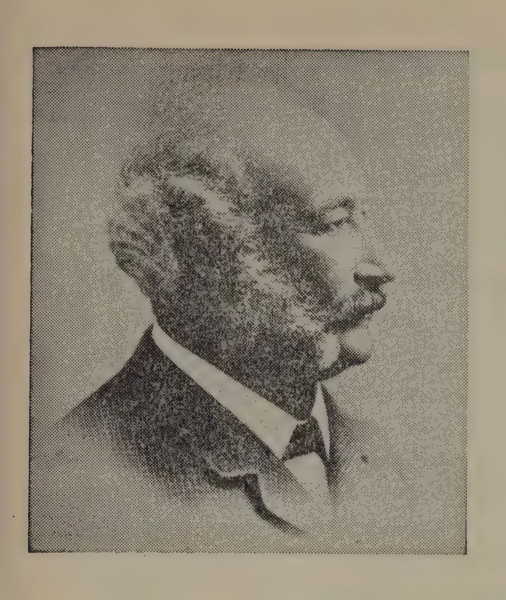
Joseph Seligman passed away in 1880 and of the seven remaining brothers, Jesse succeeded him as President of J. W. Seligman and Co. Today Jesse Seligman is forgotten; his very name is omitted from some histories of American Jewry and scarcely mentioned in others. Yet in his lifetime he was greatly admired and respected by Jews and Christians. A volume in his memory printed in 1894 for private circulation contains numerous tributes from friends, the eulogies of the pulpit and resolutions from organizations. But surprising at this distance are the praises that appear in 135 newspapers throughout the

land and abroad. It was before the time when the term "international banker" would be bandied about by rabble rousers and demagogic politicians.

Jesse Seligman carried on the financial leadership of his brother with distinction. He continued to be the unofficial adviser to the Government in important financial matters and agent for the U. S. Navy under all Republican administrations. His firm promoted railways to Mexico and San Francisco and held substantial interests in several American railroads. Among the first to espouse a waterway that would connect the Atlantic with the Pacific, he headed the American syndicate to place the shares of the Frenchman De Lesseps' ill-fated company to dig the original Panama Canal. On several occasions the Republican Party proposed his candidacy for Mayor of New York, but he declined.

Yet more appreciated were his labors in philanthropy and benevolent organizations. They are too numerous to mention here. They range from hospitals to educational institutions, from the United Hebrew Charities to the Baron de Hirsch Fund, which assisted the great number of incoming Russian Jews. His favorite society was the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, which together with Joseph he founded in 1859 and of which he was president when he died in 1894.

His last year was saddened by an incident that hurt even more than Hilton's refusal to admit Joseph to the Grand Union Hotel. For many years Joseph and Jesse Seligman were honored members of the Union League Club. Both were patriots who had rendered important services to their adopted country. Jesse's son Theodore, an attorney of high character, applied for membership, sponsored by such distinguished Americans as Elihu Root, General Porter, Cornelius L. Bliss and Joseph H. Choate. A young clique of the Cafe Society blackballed Theodore on account of his religion. Jesse Seligman immediately resigned, but the Union League Club refused to accept his resignation.



1878

ADOLPH SUTRO

Tunnel Builder

THE HIGHLY PICTURESQUE Aix-la-Chapelle was the *kronstadt* of Charlemagne when he ruled the Frankish Empire in the 9th century. Almost one thousand years later, the Sutro family of seven sons, four daughters, and their mother inherited a prosperous woolen mill when the father and husband died in 1847. His son, Adolph Heinrich Joseph, only 17, would have preferred going on with his study of mining engineering at the good polytechnic schools that Germany had. But having some scientific knowledge he was best qualified to take hold of the factory that manufactured cloth. Even while his father lived he had gone to Memel to open a store for disposing a part of their output at retail prices. But soon the Revolution of 1848 ruined the business. This caused the family to leave Rhenish Prussia in 1850 and settle in Baltimore.

There was still much talk about the California Gold Rush. The heyday was over, but people on the Eastern seaboard did not realize it. Adolph felt too young to settle down to the humdrum of a work-a-day world. Adventure beckoned to the Pacific coast, the El Dorado where gold was lying about in quantities large enough to

make the finder a Monte Cristo overnight. The youth of twenty boarded a ship that sailed to Colon. He then crossed the isthmus on a wagon drawn by a scrawny horse. Another boat at Panama carried him to the Golden Gate.

As 1851 was drawing to a close, Adolph Sutro reached San Francisco. Soon enough he found his knowledge of mining useless. Prospectors went out with pans, shovels and pickaxes to dig into the earth. Few returned with pay dirt. The most promising plots of ground were either staked out or held by murderers of the original claim owners. The city was crowded with all manner of adventurers, gamblers, ruffians and criminals ready to stop at nothing in their quest for money. But thousands of decent, law-abiding newcomers were either in legitimate business or looking for locations in which to make a start. Levi Strauss together with Joe Davis were already making their famous overalls known to this day as "Levi." Jesse Seligman, the future banker, was running his general merchandise store in a newly constructed brick building. Adolph saw much tobacco chewing among the crude and the smoking of cigars by the successful. He opened a tobacco shop on the ocean front.

For nine years he piddled along with small business, but got nowhere. He tried storekeeping in Stockton, with no better results. Yet all the time he felt capable of doing big things. Then came the sensational news of the bonanza strike in Nevada, the Comstock Lode. There perhaps lay the opportunity to utilize his knowledge of mining engineering. He crossed the state line but could not connect with the mining enterprises. Yet the change proved beneficial when he started a mill in East Dayton to extract and reduce quartz. Soon he developed a new process of amalgamating and was equipped to work on the tailings from other mills. The quartz industry proved successful and brought financial returns with good future prospects.

Anyone else would have been satisfied in finding a successful venture after struggling for 10 years. But not Adolph Sutro. He watched with deep interest the problems baffling the miners in the Comstock Lode. As they sank their shafts 1500 feet deep, the heat rose to 110 degrees and the air became foul with noxious gases. Men fainted

and some fell dead. Mines were filled with water 100 feet high at a temperature of 160 degrees. After intensive calculation, Sutro devised a project that, he was sure, would evercome all difficulties. He planned a tunnel, 10 feet high, 12 feet wide and about five miles long, running parallel with the mines 1600 feet beneath the surface and leading from the Carson River to the Comstock Lode. For ventilation, four air shafts would bore into the tunnel, which also would drain off the accumulated water into the river.

The vision of a completed tunnel obsessed Sutro. Construction would run into at least $5,000,000, he estimated. But once completed, it could produce continuous revenue with a minimum of upkeep. The tunnel became his day and night dream for 14 years. Fortunately the quartz mill could pay the initial cost of setting the project in motion. To induce banks to finance the construction, a scientific blueprint, a survey together with a prospectus, were essential. He had to employ civil engineers to examine the terrain and estimate the lines, geologists to report on the mineral character of the Comstock and surrounding rock, journalists to explain and advertise the advantages of the tunnel.

Initial skepticism gave way to enthusiasm. The mining companies eagerly signed contracts to pay $2.00 per ton for all ore mined after the tunnel was opened for their use. The Territory of Nevada issued the charter that created the Sutro Trust Company. The Bank of California and a coterie were helpful in getting Congress and the Territorial Legislature to approve the rights of way through public lands and grant several incidental franchises. Everything pointed to a successful launching when the enterprise struck a snag.

On the Pacific Coast, business ethics had evidently not yet shaken off the ways of the mining camps. Everything was fair for the one who could shoot first from the hip. The California crowd, including the bank, now saw all obstacles overcome and the construction of the tunnel mere routine. But why allow such huge profits to fall into the pockets of one man? Without them he could not possibly finance the project. From here on they could take over and reap the full harvest. Slanderous propaganda began to appear against the "Sutro coy-

ote hole." Congress was persuaded to reject the impractical scheme. Sutro's star seemed to be setting.

Adolph Sutro now displayed the perseverance of a Columbus. He approached the Vanderbilt and the Astor interests in New York. He visited a dozen countries in Europe seeking capital, studying their tunnels, consulting with engineers, and obtaining endorsements for his plan. He published a book: *The Mineral Resources of the United States and the Importance and Necessity of Inaugurating a Rational System of Mining with Special Reference to the Comstock Lode and the Sutro Tunnel in Nevada.* Finally it dawned upon him to appeal for loans to the people most vitally concerned, the Nevada miners. And they responded generously. The completion of the Sutro Tunnel became possible when unexpectedly an English bank supplied the additional capital needed.

The Sutro Tunnel was completed after 10 years of intermittent toil at the cost of $6,500,000. Today it might not astonish a nation that sees such gigantic exploits as the T.V.A. or the Wilson Dam. Yet in 1879 it was hailed a miracle of engineering. But once completed the project held no further attraction for its promoter. When offered $5,000,000 he sold his interest in the tunnel and conveyed all his stock in the Sutro Trust Company.

Again Adolph Sutro settled in San Francisco and for a time traveled around the world picking up art treasures in many countries. In and around his chosen city he noticed much land offered at what seemed bargain prices. The rocky acres were too dry for growing any kind of vegetation, and water was simply not available. When Sutro began to buy up the wastelands the city residents snickered; how could anyone pay taxes on worthless property, on "sand lots" good for nothing? Soon he acquired about one-twelfth of the land in or near San Francisco, and the wiseacres laughed more heartily, especially the sellers. The suppressed desires of the frustrated engineer now had full play. He blasted the boulders, pierced through the rock land, and by means of shafts and conduits reached the sub-surface water. Parapets cut into the rock hills protected the reservoirs now stowed

with water. It took little time for planted seeds to produce rich foliage.

The erstwhile barren soil became the Sutro Forest, dark with eucalyptus trees that draw nourishment from water veins far beneath the earth's surface. Paved roads led to Mount Sutro, 909 feet high, situated in the center of the wooded area. Cypress trees alive with birds sheltered the playgrounds for children and shaded the resting places for oldsters.

Sutro Heights is situated on a walled promontory overlooking the Golden Gate. In 1879 Sutro built his home in the 20 acre tract. Marble statues transported from Europe are set in the niches and upon terraces, porticoes, and parapets. They are also found in the abundant shrubbery along the tree-lined walks. An imposing gateway flanked by two white lions forms the entrance to the estate, now a city park, the donation of his daughter. The mansion was demolished in 1939, leaving the entire garden for public use.

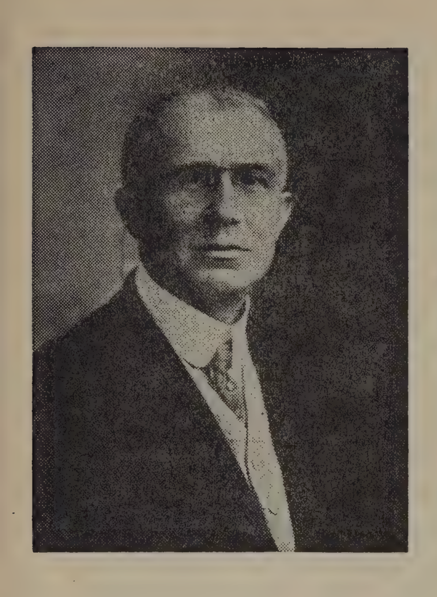
Opposite Sutro Heights stood the Cliff House, a restaurant famed since its establishment in 1858. Sutro bought the building and the adjoining 1000 acres fronting the ocean. At the foot of the cliff he built the Sutro Baths consisting of six concrete salt-water pools, the larger 300 feet by 150, the smaller 28 by 75 feet, the depths varying from 2 feet for children to 11 feet for swimmers. The bathing resort, the finest then in existence, was considered a feat of engineering and architecture and cost over $1,000,000, a large sum in the 1880s. The pavilion, airy, graceful, yet substantial, had 500 dressing rooms, all ventilated and electrically lighted with all the bathing accommodations, including necessary toilet articles. It was reached from above by elevators and steps that led to arcades, casinos, balustrades, promenades, alcoves and corridors. The grounds were adorned with tropical plants, fountains and flowers. The large stairway, wide and descending gradually, was bordered on each side with palms, flowering pomegranates, magnolias, and reaching maguey. A handsome driveway for horses and carriages winding among the tall terraces, the rough-surfaced shelves of lichen-laced rocks wrought by wind and

wave. Five Presidents of the U.S.A. enjoyed relaxation in this paradise. Here famous actors, artists, and writers would seek reinvigoration and find inspiration.

The original Cliff House was destroyed by fire in 1894, and the rebuilt structure designed as a chateau with spiraling towers suffered the same fate in 1907. Art galleries and museums contained pictures, bric-a-brac, curios and objects of art collected in foreign travels. Facing the ocean stood the amphitheater, walled by glass of many colors, with seating capacity arranged in tiers, for about 25,000 spectators who could enjoy operas, plays, or acrobatic exhibits.

As a bibliophile Sutro attained distinction when he assembled about 300,000 volumes. His collection, the largest private library then in existence, consisted of the ancient classics that had been stowed away in monasteries, and Hebrew manuscripts obtained in Jerusalem. He gathered incunabula, block engravings, early examples of the printer's art, Japanese manuscripts, the prayer books of some English kings, rare works in Hebrew, Spanish and Mexican, much scientific, including chemical, literature, and pamphlets in many languages. It was one of the four largest libraries in America. Unfortunately the great bulk was destroyed in the 1906 earthquake followed by the fire. About 70,000 volumes saved from the catastrophe were donated to the City and today are housed in the *Sutro Branch* of the California State Library.

The citizenry showed their esteem when they elected Adolph Sutro in 1894 Mayor of San Francisco. He ran on the reform-populist ticket against the powers of monopoly that virtually enslaved the city. Among his last acts was the donation to the University of California of 26 acres near the center of the County and City of San Francisco, a gently rolling eminence that commands a view to the ocean, two blocks from Golden Gate Park.



1879

EMILE BERLINER

Inventor of
Microphone and Gramophone

FAME, LIKE SUCCESS, seems to depend on luck. For by the criterion of achievement Emile Berliner should be a household name. While no Edison or Bell, no Fulton or Morse, nevertheless the inventor of the microphone and gramophone should not have been forgotten. Evidently he falls into the category of anonymity, the fate of the 20th century inventor. Tremendous strides are made in airplanes and submarines, in jet missiles and outer space rockets. Yet who knows the designers of the Vanguards and Sputniks that are soon to reach the moon?

Born 1851 in Hanover, Emile Berliner graduated at 14 from a German school. This was all the schooling he ever got. Eleven children were too many for his father, a small merchant with a Talmudic background, to support. So Emile had to go to work, first as a printer's devil then in a drygoods store. He had never been taught any science in school, yet while handling fabrics at 16 he showed an inventive streak by constructing a weaving machine. Experts expressed astonishment at its technical correctness and pronounced him a clever fellow, without any encouragement to go on inventing.

Hanover in 1866 was taken over by Prussia. The cultured, music-loving Hanoverians resented their conquerors and showed not the slightest enthusiasm for the militarism that was preparing for war with France. Whoever could emigrate welcomed the opportunity to escape Prussian goose-stepping. Then Emile listened hungrily to a visiting family friend who grew lyrical about the free land across the ocean. When Nathan Gotthelf proposed a job in his small but prosperous store in Washington, the 19-year-old clerk jumped at the offer.

In Washington Emile worked for three years in Gotthelf's men's furnishing store, the business which Jews virtually monopolized in the U.S.A. during the latter 19th century. In spare time he acquired a knowledge of good English by reading the Congressional Record and listening to the numerous speakers in the national capital. But Washington in the Reconstruction period was a drab, unhealthy, provincial place that hardly gave promise of becoming the splendid "city of magnificent distances" of half a century later. Emile decided to try his luck in New York despite the business crisis brought on by the 1873 depression. He tried several poorly paid jobs, then answered an ad out of Milwaukee to become a "drummer" on the road selling haberdashery to stores west of the Mississippi, a job that at least accelerated the process of his Americanization.

After a year out West, he returned to New York and obtained work in the laboratory of Constantine Fahlberg, who subsequently discovered by chance how to make saccharin out of coal tar. In the humble capacity of handyman, Emile learned nothing beyond analyzing sugar. But in the evenings he went to the Cooper Institute at Union Square and developed a fondness for reading scientific books and publications in its library. Near his boarding-house he struck up a friendship with a druggist who presented him with a book on physics in German. This book became the formative influence of his life. The chapters on acoustics and electricity he knew practically by heart.

The nation celebrated its centennial at Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, with an exhibition of its progress. Among the many exhibits

of unrestricted free enterprise, the invention of an obscure Scotsman, one Alexander Graham Bell, attracted but slight attention until the visiting Emperor of Brazil acclaimed the marvel of hearing the human voice through a wire contraption. Scientists then took notice and the press hailed the new telephone as promising to rival the telegraph.

Bell's invention was hardly more than a toy for the amusement of youngsters listening to each other's voices through the walls of their homes. People with spare money bought the sets and strung wire into their neighbors' houses. Sound carried imperfectly and speech needed repeated shouting for the ear to distinguish words at the other end. Bell's telephone was merely an extension of the telegraph principle, an electrically charged wire with receivers at each end.

The telephone idea intrigued Emile Berliner who was now in Washington back at the old job with the additional duty of bookkeeper. His mind grappled with the shortcomings of Bell's instrument, which he did not see on the day spent at the Exposition in Philadelphia. With his little spending money he fitted up a crude apparatus in the bedroom of his boarding house and strung wires to the rooms of neighbors and friends. He rescued every moment of spare time to "tinker with his toy." Strange to relate, he stumbled upon the two devices that transformed the telephone into a practical instrument for commercial use.

Bell's instrument consisted of two receivers firmly connected to each end of a wire charged with magnetic current. The voice set the wire in motion and transmitted speech telegraphically. In *Emile Berliner,* his biographer Frederic W. Wile states:

"Presently it occurred to Berliner that he could take a diaphragm and a contact-pin, or screw, touching it in the center, and somehow produce an undulatory, wave-like electric current by continuous action of the contact, that is to say, not by interrupting it, but by some form of perpetuity. 'I did not catch on to the pressure principle right away,' he explains, 'but I thought that if I took a flat spring and attached that to a screw, I could adjust the spring against the diaphragm—the current, of course, passing across the contact—so

that if I spoke against it, each vibration would bring a little broader surface of the spring against the diaphragm and thereby produce electric sound waves in the current.' "

But his telephone would not transmit speech. Berliner was stymied until Fate guided his steps to Alvan S. Richards, chief operator of the fire alarm telegraph system in Washington. He permitted Berliner to use an instrument of the fire-alarm operation, but immediately cautioned him to "press down the key—not simply touch it." Berliner with the inventor's curiosity asked what difference the pressure made as long as contact was effected. Richards explained that the sending key must be pressed down forcibly to assure efficient reception in long distance transmission. In a flash Berliner felt the problem bothering him solved. He rushed home to test out the new hypothesis. It worked. He further ascertained that speech was transmitted with the help of a battery current rather than the magnetic current, which Bell used.

And thus Berliner discovered the microphone, with its loose diaphragm that receives and transmits the voice through a wire, detached from the receiver. This sensitive transmitter enables words of varying sound or intensity to register on the ear. He also discovered the use of the transformer to prevent the fading out of sound and retain its vibrations on an even keel. These two improvements assured the stability of Bell's embryonic invention. Without Berliner's contribution, the commercial telephone would be inconceivable.

The struggling Bell Telephone Company began with renting out its imperfect equipment. Western Union, in 1878 the richest corporation in America, became aware of the vast potentialities of the new invention. This company utilized the patent of Thomas A. Edison, whose experimental telephone surpassed Bell's in efficiency. The Bell Telephone Company could not compete with a superior product backed by the huge capital of the Western Union.

But chance intervened. Bell's agent happened to run across the Berliner invention. Negotiations resulted in Bell acquiring Berliner's patent. He was given an important post with the company, and the telephone began its triumphant encirclement of the globe. Thanks

to Bell's invention and Berliner's supplements thereto, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company is now the largest corporation in the world.

Berliner now turned his attention to the talking machine. Edison had established its feasibility when his half-baked experiment talked back "Mary had a little lamb." The Edison Company was selling phonographs which reproduced on soft wax cylinders the human voice in a mechanical nasal twang.

Again Berliner outdid Edison. Discarding the cumbersome cylinder as impractical, he invented the flat disc, which propelled the reproducing stylus or needle in a groove of even depth and varying direction. This disc of a hardened rubber composition could be produced in mass and sold cheaply. The movable reproducer was a great improvement over Edison's fixed machine. The Berliner gramophone developed into the Victor Talking Machine with its masthead of a dog listening to "His Master's Voice." Victor records became a medium of culture and pleasure in every civilized language and sold the world over. The magnitude of the new industry may be deduced from the million dollar royalty paid to the heirs of Caruso in the years 1921-25 by the Victor Talking Machine Co.

In the present era of increasing longevity and growing population, it is easy to forget the perils to life and health in the immediate past. Yet at the end of the last century 300 out of 1000 infants died before completing their first year in New York and in Washington. This was brought home to Emile Berliner when his baby suffered a gastro-intestinal attack. After six months the tot weighed a pound less than at birth. The best doctors in Washington could effect no improvement. So the inventor took charge of the case himself, and today Alice, the babe at death's door, is Mrs. Isadore Lubin, wife of the noted economist.

This experience caused Berliner to devote attention to public health and the prevention of disease. He became convincd that epidemics such as typhoid, scarlet fever, diphtheria are largely traceable to raw milk. This had already been ascertained by Nathan Straus who since 1892 combated the indifference or opposition of medicos by

installing throughout New York booths for distributing pasteurized milk at a nominal charge. Berliner formed the *Society for the Prevention of Sickness* and put on a campaign urging the use of *scalded* milk only. He used that term for the plain people who might not understand the new word *pasteurization,* which the medical profession generally did not yet accept.

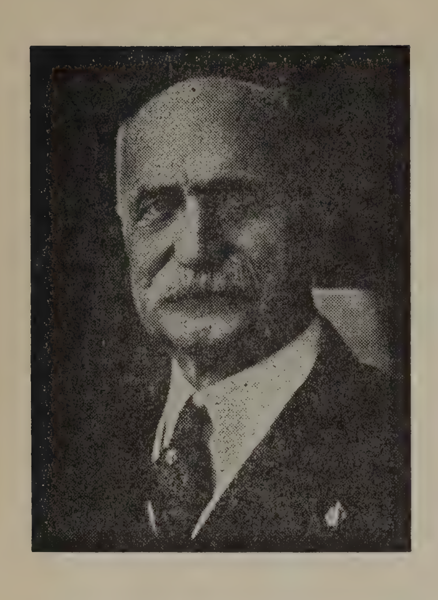
The constant education barrage was having its effect. Due to Berliner's urging the commissioners of the District of Columbia called a milk conference in 1907 of scientists and prominent citizens. Dr. A. D. Melvin of the Department of Agriculture formulated milk standards, and pasteurization received Federal endorsement. In 1909 the New York Health Department called a similar conference and adopted similar standards. As a consequence certain kinds of diseases that caused much infant mortality have been virtually eliminated. During his investigations Berliner also became aware of milk as a transmitter of tuberculosis. A consumptive cow might infect an entire dairy herd with the tubercle bacilli. He therefore became a founder of the District of Columbia Tuberculosis Association. In 1926 at a meeting of the Association celebrating Berliner's 75th birthday a speaker read from a parchment testimonial: "But for him, scientific facts might have remained unnoticed for a long time."

For the rest of his life Berliner worked continuously on new inventions. Interest in the science of acoustics led him to experiment in making sounds audible in churches, halls, theaters and auditoriums. He made a thorough study of the subject and invented acoustic tiles for panelling the interior of buildings that are important even in this day of amplifiers and loud speakers. In a scientific paper read before a Washington chapter of the American Institute of Architects he stated:

"Existing churches, theaters or concert halls with defective acoustics may, I think, be readily corrected by covering sections of their interiors with acoustic tiles to a sufficient height for catching and reflecting the voices of speakers or singers as well as the tones of instruments."

It is quite obvious that radio and television would have been quite impossible without Berliner's inventions in 1877 of the microphone and transformer. He was also aware of the tremendous importance to aeronautics of the heavier than air machine, then in the experimental stage. In 1908 he was actively occupied with improving the lightweight revolving cylinder internal-combustion motor for the airplane. As early as 1903 he experimented with helicopters and made some significant contributions. He collaborated with his son Henry, a graduate of Cornell and M.I.T., in designing the three different kinds of helicopters which made successful flights from 1919 to 1926.

In religion and philosophy Emile Berliner could be classed an agnostic, judging from his book *Conclusions*. Yet in his later years he came to realize that differences in religion were not the sole causes of group hatreds. He became interested in the rebuilding of a Jewish State in Palestine and contributed to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He favored the Jewish pursuit of agriculture and assisted the National Farm School at Doylestown, Pa.



1880

SIMON WOLF

Spokesman and Lobbyist

THE YEAR 1848 was critical for European liberalism. In a series of revolutions the democratic elements lost out, at least temporarily. The U.S.A. gained valuable adherents to the cause of freedom from slavery soon to be contested in a most bloody war to preserve the Federal Union. Among the immigrant 48ers from Germany came Simon Wolf, a lad who until his 87th year would uphold with high patriotic fervor the democratic and liberal ideas imbibed during childhood.

Love of learning and devotion to Judaism he no doubt absorbed from his father, a teacher of Hebrew. Passing up the prospects of successful business with his uncles in Cleveland, he chose the less profitable career of law and public affairs. In his 24th year, he served as alternate delegate to the Democratic conventions of 1860 at Charleston and Baltimore. But Lincoln and the slavery issue attracted him to the new Republican Party. After Ft. Sumter, he volunteered for army duty and was rejected on account of defective eyesight.

In his readable autobiography: *The Presidents I Have Known*

from 1860 to 1918, Simon Wolf tells of his relations with every President from Buchanan to Wilson. He could have included Harding, whose term began after the book's publication. One anecdote is typically Lincolnian. As Wolf was closing his office one evening, a message came in to save a Jewish boy condemned to be shot the following sunrise for deserting. The boy simply had to see his dying mother. Simon Wolf could not reach Lincoln till 2:00 in the morning. The timing was bad since Secretary of War Stanton had threatened to resign if the President pardoned another deserter. With a straight face Lincoln complained of lack of influence with the Administration, least of all with the Secretary of War. Wolf asked what would the President have done in the boy's place. He answered with a telegraphic pardon. Lincoln had no occasion to regret his act when he learned subsequently that the boy was killed in battle at Cold Harbor.

In times of tension Jews invariably become targets of the warped, the rabid, the unscrupulous. They suffered from unjust attacks whipped up by war hysteria. Many newspapers fanned the embers, perhaps unaware of the damage to a minority by stressing the religion of any Jew charged with some offence. Others launched full scale onslaughts of slander and malice. Simon Wolf, still a young man, came to the defense of his co-religionists and demonstrated his capacity for leadership. In the fall of 1864 he wrote to the *New York Evening Post* whose editor, the poet William Cullen Bryant, was the dean of the American press. The following are some excerpts out of Wolf's long letter:

> "Ignorance is said to be the foundation of prejudice and intolerance. I know not how true this axiom may have been in the remote past; it certainly is not true in the present, for the higher you ascend in the scale of intellect and officers of the public service, the more bigotry and prejudice do you find. My heart is sick, my brain weary, my hopes dampened by these manifestations, not alone in the social, but radiating from the highest official circles. . . .
>
> "Were these times not extraordinary and the prejudice now

existing not rioting in an insanity of abuse, I might with profit stop and let your glorious words (Mr. Bryant) be our best defence. But the war now raging has developed an insanity of malice that borders upon the darkest days of superstition and the Spanish Inquisition. Has the war now raging been inaugurated or fostered by Jews exclusively? Is the late Democratic Party composed entirely of Israelites? Are there no native Americans engaged in rebellion? No Christians running the blockade, or meek followers of Christ within the folds of Tammany?

"We have been branded and outraged for four long years, until discretion has ceased to be a virtue, and it is incumbent upon you, the father of the American press, to give us a hearing through the columns of your valuable journal.

"Why, when the authorities arrest a criminal, telegraph immediately throughout the Union that a Jew, or another Jew blockader has been caught? Do they, when they catch a James Malony, say a Methodist or Presbyterian has been caught? Is it, then, a crime to be born a Jew, which has to be expiated upon the altar of public opinion by a life of suffering and abuse? . . .

"Was your own brave (New York) citizen, Lieutenant Colonel (Leopold C.) Newman, who offered his life as a sacrifice, and who upon his dying bed received the promotion of a brigadier generalship, ever mentioned as a Jew?

"But why multiply words? I could go on quoting incidents by the thousands, and no one is or should be more conversant with them than the department at Washington, whence proceeds so much of this foul heresy and poisonous inoculation. . . .

"I am not now pleading the cause of the Jew, but I am defending the principle that underlies our public institutions, our private worth. Are we to go on in this uncalled-for vituperation, and sowing the wind to reap at last the whirlwind?"

When the attention of President Lincoln was called to this letter he expressed indignation and declared "No class of citizenship in the United States was superior in patriotism to those of the Jewish faith."

To Ulysses S. Grant, he was able to render a signal service. While

commanding a Union army, the general tactlessly issued Order No. 11, which commanded all Jews to vacate a military district consisting of several states. Lincoln had to cancel the unfair order. But in the presidential campaign of 1868, the opposing Democrats were attacking a candidate who showed such slight regard for human or constitutional rights. Wolf, an effective speaker in many future elections, campaigned for Grant and absolved him of anti-Semitism. His efforts were evidently appreciated. Appointed by the President Recorder of the District of Columbia, Wolf was inclined to refuse the office as interfering with his active law practice. But on hearing that objections were raised on account of religion, he entered the fight and won by unanimous confirmation.

Jews had no complaints about Grant's attitude. No President before him had made as many Jewish appointments. He offered the cabinet post of Secretary of the Treasury to Joseph Seligman and named Edward S. Solomon Governor of the Washington Territory. Wolf was chiefly responsible for the selection of Benjamin F. Peixotto as the first U. S. Consul to Bucharest. The President tried earnestly to ease the persecution of Jews in the newly formed state of the Roumanians, who like beggars on horseback were abusing their recently won freedom from the Turkish oppression. Long after Peixotto's death, Wolf worked for the emancipation of Roumanian Jews, and was one of the small group which induced Theodore Roosevelt to send the famous note of Secretary of State John Hay to Roumania.

Simon Wolf was often referred to as "Ambassador of Jews in the U. S. to Washington." This label was attacked by anti-Semites, who assailed him as the Jewish Lobbyist. He earned both titles. For over half a century he labored unceasingly to help his co-religionists. Officially he represented the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, which in 1878 on his motion merged with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. He was also the spokesman in Washington for the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith.

His energies seemed inexhaustible. Active in his own synagogue, he was also a founder of the Baltimore Orphan Asylum. He established the Atlanta Hebrew Orphan Asylum, remained its president

for almost three decades, and almost single-handed collected the then large sum of $150,000 for its building. His services to the Masons, the new Red Cross Association, the German and non-sectarian charities were no less conspicuous.

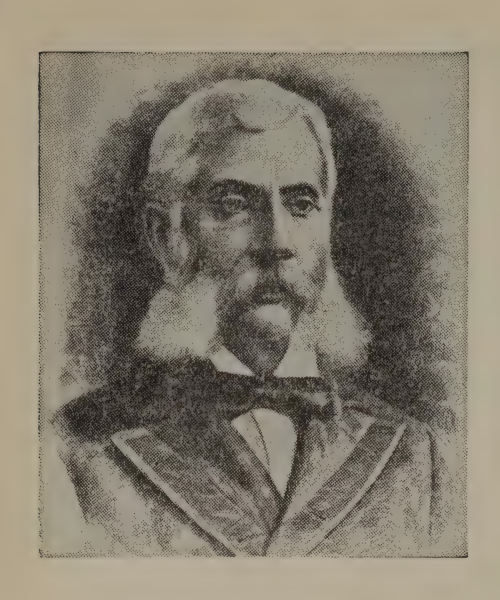
Most important were his extended services in behalf of Russian Jewry. At the start of Grant's second term, Wolf attended a Cabinet meeting called to devise some means of preventing the expulsion of Jews from Bessarabia. During four decades, in fact until the U. S. abrogated its treaty with Russia in 1911 contrary to the wishes of President Taft, Wolf worked continuously to ameliorate Russian anti-Jewish policies. He took the lead in inducing Theodore Roosevelt to forward the "Kishineff Massacre Petition" prepared by Leo N. Levi, President of the B'nai B'rith.

In immigration matters, Wolf was more successful. Always on hand to smooth out a bureaucratic snarl, he was able to assure the entrance of people whom officialdom would send back. Papers of refugees who escaped the Russian border were often not quite in order. It took years of labor with the help of other prominent leaders to maintain the "open door" policy to immigrants, especially for such paupers as were receiving support from philanthropic societies. The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society celebrated Wolf's 80th birthday and stated in its 1916 Bulletin that he was instrumental in preventing the deportation of at least 103,000 Jewish immigrants.

Simon Wolf's consulship in 1881 to Egypt was of little importance in point of service. Far more useful were his labors in historic research, which appeared in the book *The American as Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen*. Compiled to silence a lying detractor who wrote in 1891 the libel for the *North American Review* to the effect that Jews did nothing on the battlefield to save the Union, he cited from State and Federal records the names of more than 8000 Jewish soldiers on both sides of the conflict, showing that the Jewish quota of soldiers was larger in percentage than that of the general population.

Besides attending to a busy law practice, the devoted "Ambassa-

dor" and lobbyist continued his efforts for Jewish causes and public welfare almost to the end of a long useful life. When he died in 1923 Simon Wolf earned the eulogy of former President and now Chief Justice, William Howard Taft: "He was a leader in Israel, and had the interests of his people deeply at heart. He labored much for them. He was a man of intellectual force, of conviction and courage of expression. He was greatly respected by all who knew him, and this included all the prominent men in the Government for many decades of his long and honored life. In his death the country loses a patriot, and the Jewish people a strong man."



1881

MEYER and DANIEL GUGGENHEIM

Copper Kings

SWITZERLAND is regarded as a liberal land, a sort of haven for political refugees. The great marble palace that housed the League of Nations symbolized Geneva as a fitting center for world government. Yet a century ago the Swiss cantons clung to the religious bigotry inherited from the Middle Ages. The few Jews who lived precariously in ghettos came in for restrictions that had been outmoded even in Germany. It took long negotiations to fashion a treaty with the U.S.A. that would bar discrimination against American Jewish businessmen travelling in Switzerland.

In the town of Langnau, Meyer Guggenheim, a lad of 18, sat in his father's tailor shop listening to his grandfather's recital of beastly conduct by Gentile townsmen in the early 19th Century. Difficulties arose every 16 years with each renewal of the permit to remain in the miserable ghetto. The legal fee had to be supplemented with gifts to the City Fathers who were not above blackmailing so as to get bigger bribes. But matters changed overnight with the entry of Napoleon's troops, and even after the French withdrawal the old conditions never returned. By 1821 the cantons thought they made

a stride towards toleration with the decree that native Jews hereafter belonged to the category of homeless foreigners not to be expelled.

When Meyer spoke of emigrating to the free New World about which he was reading, his grandfather declared that Langnau had become a paradise, the new spirit manifesting itself when his son Samuel was rewarded with two golden ducats and a letter of praise by the Mayor for saving the lives of two Christian children sleeping in a burning house. He could never understand why Samuel refused the ducats. Simon Guggenheim listened attentively to his son's plea for emigration. For a widower it seemed quite logical to marry the desirable widow Rachel Weil Myers who lived several doors away. But the bureaucrats withheld permission and it was not until 1863 that Switzerland granted full citizenship to Jews. Simon, his son Meyer and three daughters, the widow Myers and her seven children all boarded a sloop at Hamburg. After 13 weeks of weary sailing they landed in Philadelphia in 1847. Half a century later, the Swiss economy of cheese and watches would seem puny alongside the Guggenheim empire in silver, lead, gold, nitrate and copper.

Throughout Europe during a millennium Jews were forbidden to own or operate the soil. The labor unions known as Guilds virtually closed to them all trades and handicrafts. For survival until a better day, their activities were largely restricted to money-lending and peddling. Ingrained habits persevere even after the need is no longer pressing. Thus the Guggenheims turned to the age-old practice. Father Simon plodded the streets of Philadelphia offering shoelaces, ribbons, needles and such articles as are not usually obtained in the small shops off the main business section. Adding the much-used polish for iron stoves, Meyer trudged the open highways from hamlets to farms carrying the heavy knapsack on his back. It took five years until he became prosperous enough to marry 19-year-old Barbara, daughter of the former widow Myers now married to his father.

Stooping under the heavy load, weighted down by cans of polish, Meyer yearned for a horse, any kind of a nag, to relieve him as a beast of burden. Reflecting on the small profit in polish, the thought

came that the manufacturers made thousands where he made pennies. On the way to Bethlehem why not stop to see the German chemist who appeared friendly? The chemist, not too busy, obliged the good looking young peddler by running some tests with a can of polish. The following Sabbath Meyer told his father that with this paper formula he might yet buy a horse. Weary of peddling, his back was actually bending into a permanent curve.

Father Simon mixed polish ingredients and the profit netted Meyer seven cents for each ten-cent can. After a time he was able to abandon the pack and travel by train or horse-car carrying a small satchel with samples of polish and additional lines. Profits enabled Meyer to attempt other lines of business. During the Civil War all kinds of goods were in demand. The U. S. Army gladly bought his essence of chicory and coffee beans roasted, ground, boiled, bottled, and relished by the soldiers. With prosperity smiling, Barbara was presenting him with children until the family consisted of eight boys and three girls.

Meyer Guggenheim's business acumen constantly perceived new sources of revenue. He dealt in pepper, condiments and those strange spices of the East Indies brought by clipper ships from Amsterdam. The Pennsylvania Salt Company enjoyed a monoply in lye, used by families in making soap out of the fat saved from food. Meyer picked up an option on English caustic alkali, which when melted was equivalent to lye and sold much cheaper. The Guggenehim product proved such a competition that the salt company had to buy Meyer's lye business and pay a healthy profit. Extra cash he loaned to friends receiving mortgages secured by real estate. Soon the mysteries of stocks and bonds commanded his inquisitive attention. It became absorbing to understand the intricacies of Wall Street operations, the causes for the rise or decline of securities. Such speculations, sometimes hazardous, could also be quite profitable.

One day, Meyer Guggenheim received a consignment of embroideries from his wife's uncle in Switzerland. A covering letter explained that Uncle Myers had started a factory that would embroider cheaply by machine, hitherto done expensively by hand. He

had produced more than he could sell in Europe and believed the lace would go well in America. His price was but a small overage on cost. For advice, Meyer went to his friend Abraham Goldsmith. The cloth merchant suggested letters to the trade, advertising the merits and low prices of the new process. But H. D. Claflin, the largest wholesale firm in America, took the entire shipment, paid a handsome profit and asked for more.

The alert Guggenheim sensed the new possibilities immediately. The lace came at the right time. Meyer had been wondering what to do with the older boys, who showed no disposition for school but keen interest in business. The spice business, sufficient to the 50-year-old merchant, was too limited in scope for his sons growing into young men. Yet teen-agers could hardly be trusted with a business that required attention on two continents. Meyer spied a young man with limited money but of latent abilities. He formed a partnership, Guggenheim & Pulaski, with offices in Switzerland, later in New York. Dan Guggenheim, only 17 but the shrewdest of the boys, went with Morris Pulaski to Switzerland to finish his education, to acquire German, and learn the lace-embroidery business. He attended to the office when Pulaski went to America. The younger brothers, Murry and Sol, prevailed upon their father also to send them abroad to study and help Dan. The business prospered and kept the three boys working sometimes ten hours a day. In Switzerland and America lace and embroideries with their increasing demand promised to utilize the remaining boys as they grew up. Unexpectedly there intervened an incident which ultimately brought the Guggenheims for a time at least, into the category of the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the Fords, the Mellons, the DuPonts.

Charles Graham wore a white beard and had a flare for speculation. Losing money after the war, the dignified Quaker from Germantown attempted to retrieve his fortune by investing the remaining few thousand dollars in some Colorado silver-lead mines. Adroit trading netted him free and clear two claims known in Leadville as the A.Y. and the Minnie. Graham now needed cash and applied to Meyer Guggenheim for a loan. The map of the gulch and the Quak-

er's promotional fervor forced Meyer to declare "if the mine is as good as all that I wont lend you a penny. I will take a partnership." The partners traveled to Leadville, but all Meyer could see on the hill was a deep shaft filled with water. The manager, Sam Harsh, seemed confident of a big strike if he had the necessary machinery for pumping out the water and enough funds to continue digging.

Meyer returned to Philadelphia not over confident. Nervous irritation increased with each telegram asking for another $1000. For a business man past 50 to become a sucker and buy a gold brick! He was beginning to be ashamed of himself. One day a messenger brought in a telegram. "Not another cent," growled Meyer, and then read: "Rich strike 15 ounces silver 60% lead—Harsh." Dazed, he grabbed a pencil and computed that 50 tons a day would produce $1000 in silver. He was indeed a millionaire. From that day in 1881, the spice business and even the prosperous lace-embroidery firm seemed mere piddling. Mining meant big business worthy of smart men's efforts. The boys respected his versatile daring but wondered if it be wise to give up embroideries, permanently in demand, for a mine which ultimately is gutted and then abandoned. The father had to paint a glowing picture of the vast potentialities in American big business before the sons would agree to share in his new venture. For the time being they cautiously held on to the lace business until the experiment would prove its worth.

The new enterprise resulted from experience. Meyer soon learned what miners knew all along—that the lion's share went to the smelter who retained the bullion and paid as he saw fit. The miner had no check upon the amount or quality of the ore extracted. At the mercy of the smelter, he felt short-changed, yet could do nothing about it. Meyer Guggenheim reacted as with stove polish during the peddling days. He would set up a smelting plant that would refine his own metal and serve others. It was a process which required technique and experience. But its success justified Meyer's most sanguine hopes. It became obvious that the Guggenheims were on the way to large affairs. The embroidery firm was sold and the older boys went wholeheartedly into mining and smelting. Daniel Gug-

genheim assumed active direction as his father gradually retired from active participation.

Family solidarity impressed Meyer Guggenheim as the best means for the consolidation of wealth and power. Never weary of repeating the maxim, *In union there is strength,* he fondly regarded himself as founder of a dynasty after the manner of the Rothschilds. But as their smelting business prospered, big business desired to absorb the Guggenheim drive and resources. In the heyday of Trust building, H. H. Rogers and the Rockefellers formed the American Smelting and Refining Company which monopolized the smelters' industry. They invited the Guggenheims to enter on attractive terms.

Old Meyer would not see his family becoming anonymous shareholders to be out-voted in a corporation. His strong opposition forced the sons to remain independent smelters and benefit by the errors of the Trust. At a critical time the Guggenheims endeared themselves to labor, to the miners and to the general public by complying after a fashion with the Colorado eight-hour law, by paying better prices for gold and silver ore, by advancing loans to hard-pressed mine owners, by keeping open during the shut-down ordered by the Smelters' Trust. Astute management out-generaled and out-smarted their competitors. In 1901 the Trust capitulated on the terms of the victor and the Guggenheims took over the Smelters' Trust. The family received $45,000,000 in stock and became the majority shareholders of the American Smelting and Refining Company, perhaps the most remarkable deal in Wall Street history.

As head of the House of Guggenheim stood Daniel, directing, inaugurating, dictating and consolidating. No engineer, metallurgist or financier himself, he nevertheless was a great business man. Daniel employed the best talent available and paid John Hayes Hammond, the noted mining engineer equal in stature to Herbert Hoover, in a later generation, the unheard of salary of $250,000 a year plus one-fourth interest in all properties he recommended. Some of the Guggenheim engineering exploits made history by achieving the hitherto impossible in technology.

One feat in Alaska linked the Kennecott Copper lode in the

bleakest wilderness of the Americas to the Tacoma Smelter. The vast Klondike Bonanza acquired by the Alaska Syndicate, into which Daniel Guggenheim invited J. P. Morgan, lay in the frozen Arctic. To reach it a railroad costing $20,000,000 has to cross glaciers on a bridge of 1150 feet along towering canyons. All winter men worked in weather sometimes 60 degrees below zero driving piles through seven-foot ice and 40 feet of moraine and muck to install temporary supports for the bridge spans. Harvey O'Connor in his biography *The Guggenheims* writes: "From sunrise to midnight the crews worked. . . . Suddenly the flood came. . . . All night long men worked with steam lines thawing the ice-bound piles. . . . and then . . . the ice broke. Great masses were hurled against the falsework which swayed and fell. Even the pile drivers were lost in the river's rapid rush. But engineers and crew were happy—the great glacier bridge was in place. A year had been gained by the margin of one hour."

The rapid rise of the Guggenheims is amazing even in the era of quick fortunes. Within a generation they stood out as the world's copper kings. They refined silver and extracted lead and zinc. They developed tin mines in Bolivia and dug gold in the region of the frozen Yukon. The Guggenheim Exploitation Company sent forth engineers to roam throughout the world searching for profitable mines and ores, minerals and metals. At the invitation of the Belgian King Leopold II they became his partners in the diamond fields of Angola and the Congo. They extracted nitrate in Chile and drew rubber out of plantations in the Belgian Congo. They monopolized the mining industry of Mexico and controlled the Smelters' Trust through the American Smelting and Refining Company. The Guggenheims initiated and launched such gigantic enterprises as Kennecott Copper Corporation, Nevada Consolidated, the Esperanza Gold Mine in Mexico, and the Chile Copper Company. They demonstrated that even 2% ore in the Utah Mountains could produce enormous yields of copper with steam shovels stripping the cupriferous earth's surface. In order to exploit the largest body of copper ore in all the world they had to reach in Chile a mountainous plateau

without vegetation or rainfall, 9000 feet above the sea level, 89 miles from a power house, 40 miles from water springs. There were years when the Guggenheims produced more than one-half of the world's copper.

The meridian of Guggenheim wealth and power came with the First World War. The keen Daniel, his finger on the pulse of conditions in Europe, evidently had inside knowledge that the conflict would soon erupt. He was certainly not caught napping. No one was better prepared for the role of purveying essential metals, first to the Allies and later to his own country. The Guggenheim corporations were geared to their top efficiency in production and distribution. In fact it is difficult to envision an Allied victory without their resourceful organizations. The full extent of their war profits will never be known. All the sons threw their energies into the war effort. The younger generation enlisted in the armed forces and their fathers worked in the extra-curricular activities of selling Liberty Bonds, helping the Red Cross, serving on war boards that directed phases of the conflict. Had the Central Powers won, the Guggenheim empire would have crashed. The Allied victory raised old Meyer's sons to their zenith.

But the heights invariably point to a decline. After the War, the Guggenheim fame and power began to sag—yet not in the three-generation formula from "shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves." The depreciation of share values in corporations, heavily stock-piled with copper greatly reduced in market price, hardly affected their individual fortunes. Nor did the disastrous venture in Chilean nitrate that ate up many millions of their reserve make a dent in the family wealth. Their decline might be termed spiritual. The capable, hardy, acquisitive, daring, venturous stock seemed to decay after the generation that succeeded Meyer Guggenheim. Their descendants became notorious in the pursuit of pleasure, in the divorce courts, in race tracks and dog shows on both sides of the Atlantic. The name Guggenheim is no longer found on the directorships of the Chile, Utah or Kennecott Corporations. They are content to receive dividends earned by a management foreign to them. Is it possible that there exists a con-

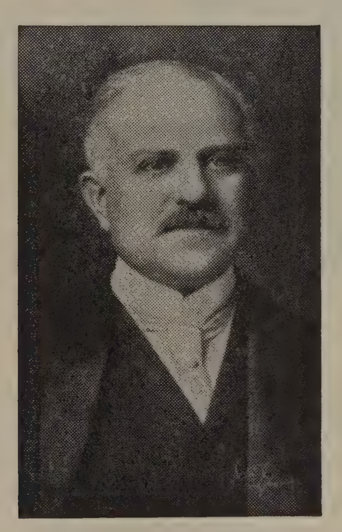
nection between the general lassitude of the third and fourth generations and their abandonment of Judaism or withdrawal from Jewish associations?

A word must be said about the numerous Guggenheim Foundations. While on the whole no philanthropist, old Meyer did give considerable sums to the Jewish Hospital in Philadelphia, the Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York and to other charities. His sons, better educated and with a deeper sense of responsibility as men of wealth to the public, distinguished themselves by their benefactions. Simon, who served Colorado in the U. S. Senate, presented a law building to the State University and several halls to other schools. In memory of his son who died prematurely, he established the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial which dispensed thousands of fellowships to scholars, artists, writers and scientists.

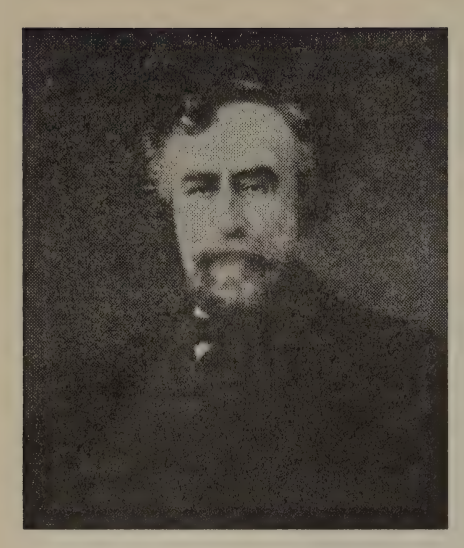
On New York's Fifth Avenue stands the $12,000,000 Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum that houses old masters, abstract paintings and non-objective art. The Murry and Leonie Guggenheim Dental Clinic cares for the needs of school children free of charge on East 72nd Street in New York. The French government made Murry Guggenheim an officer of the Legion of Honor for erecting in Paris a dormitory for 320 students in recognition of Franco-American friendship. Since 1918 the Guggenheims have maintained free musical concerts, conducted by Edwin Franko Goldman, first at Columbia University and then in Central Park.

But the most important money gift went to "stir the air consciousness of the American people and give added impetus to commercial flying as a practical, safe and useful means of transportation." Several years before Lindbergh startled the world with his lone flight across the Atlantic, Daniel Guggenheim, instigated by his son Harry Frank, subsequently Ambassador to Cuba, began contributing funds to various universities for research in studying weather conditions, in the lessening of fatalities, for tests in laboratories. He then set up the Daniel Guggenheim Foundation for Promotion of Aeronautics with an initial $2,500,000 for loans to commercial companies for landing fields, beacon lights and air markings. Daniel Guggen-

heim's money and vision largely stimulated the emergence of aviation from a barnstorming avocation for daredevils into a solid business enterprise that serves millions throughout the world.



DANIEL GUGGENHEIM.



1882

ABRAHAM JACOBI and SIMON BARUCH

Physicians

Senator Carl Schurz and Dr. Abraham Jacobi were reminiscing over steins of beer. Both had participated in the Revolution of 1848; Jacobi suffered and Schurz evaded imprisonment; both escaped their German Fatherland and now were enjoying honor and fame in the new world. Carl Schurz could not get over the marvel of his own career. A foreigner speaking with a thick German accent, and without previous military experience, he rose to the rank of Major General in the Union Army. Now he represented Missouri in the U. S. Senate.

In the scientific world, Dr. Jacobi also reached eminence. The 23-year-old refugee landed in 1853. In Boston he could get no foothold but in New York patients flocked to him. Four years later he lectured on the diseases of infancy and childhood at the College of Physicians and Surgeons. At 30 he became Professor of Infantile Pathology and Therapeutics at New York Medical College, a new field in American medicine. By 1862 he had established a pediatric clinic, lectured at Columbia University, served on the staff of numerous hospitals, all the while tending to a large general practice. No

wonder Dr. Abraham Jacobi at 40 was regarded one of the foremost physicians in America.

The friends went on chatting and contrasting the opposite spirit that obtained in Germany. But the Senator noticed that his friend would at times become absorbed in something outside the conversation. Finally he inquired whether anything was troubling him. Jacobi answered that he was happy over the visit and would seize the opportunity for some advice that his Gentile friend married to a Jewess was peculiarly qualified to give. The doctor had married his childhood sweetheart, Fanny Meyer, who gave birth to a child that lived one day. She died before Jacobi was 26 years old. He then married the sister of Solomon Heydenfeld, Justice of California's Supreme Court. She bore him three stillborn children and one premature. Again he became a widower. These tragedies had decided him to remain single and devote his life to science, to alleviate pain and cure disease.

Absorbed in his work, he hardly noticed the years slipping away. About two years earlier, while President of New York County Medical Society, he had occasion to admit and welcome its second woman member. This meant the making of a routine matter out of deeply ingrained prejudice that prevented the admission of female physicians to medical societies. Thus began his friendship with an outstanding, unusual young lady. Dr. Mary Putnam was a woman of strong character, scientific knowledge and keen mentality, idealistic and unconventional, eager to sacrifice comfort and social life for the advancement of science and humanity. He was strongly attracted to her and knew she reciprocated. Everything seemed perfect, then why not marry?

It was not that simple. The doctor had seen Jewish-Gentile marriages, and for some reason or other they generally did not work out so well. Chasms, open or hidden, sometimes deep and wide, seemed to intervene. Religious, social, cultural, racial, or psychological barriers, latent or subconscious, often became apparent after the slightest rift. Mary, daughter of publisher George Palmer Putnam, was an intellectual aristocrat of New England Puritan stock, a de-

scendant of the colonial Havens, the Masons, the Putnams. Abraham Jacobi, short and stocky, with a leonine head and thick wavy hair, was born in a small town of Westphalia. His unsuccessful father was a frustrated tyrant. It was due to his mother that the Jewish lad, in a milieu of Prussian hate, got into the Gymnasium. He knew about the great German schools of higher learning, but the slender means scraped together by a sacrificing mother and his own hard work put him through the not so good University of Greifswald. He attended other universities and received a doctorate before reaching his 21st year. He could now begin to practice medicine. Instead he plunged into revolutionary activities which soon clapped him into prison. About to be released, he learned of the order for his immediate rearrest and managed to escape. Could the backgrounds of a couple contemplating marriage be more dissimilar?

Abraham Jacobi and Mary Putnam were married on July 22, 1873 in a dingy room at the City Hall. Their boy Ernst when seven years old died of diphtheria. Their daughter Marjorie grew up and married George McAneny in the Chantry of Christ Church. The freethinking parents led her to the altar and the Jewish father gave the bride away. A generation later the beastly Nazis began their annihilation of German Jews. The Christian world looked on with calm indifference. The grandchildren of Abraham Jacobi or of Mrs. Carl Schurz did not, or could not, know whether any members of their grandparents' families were being tortured in concentration camps. Nor did they try to find out. Help in the form of money, affidavits and organized migration came largely from the Americanized descendants of East European Jewry. Again was demonstrated the lesson that in times of distress and danger Jews can only count on succor from their co-religionists. The converted or assimilated disappear into the dominant majority and remain callous, sometimes hostile, to the fate of their ancestral stock.

A great physician, Abraham Jacobi played a significant part in the enormous advance of American medicine. He introduced the plan of instructing of students at the bedside of the patient. Prior to Manuel Garcia, he invented the laryngoscope, and without applying

for a patent, he put it aside, not stopping to think of its usefulness to the medical profession. Through lectures in classrooms, papers read at meetings, and articles printed in the medical journals, he instructed several generations of doctors, who spread his ideas and teachings throughout the land. In and out of season, he struggled to raise the standards of medical education.

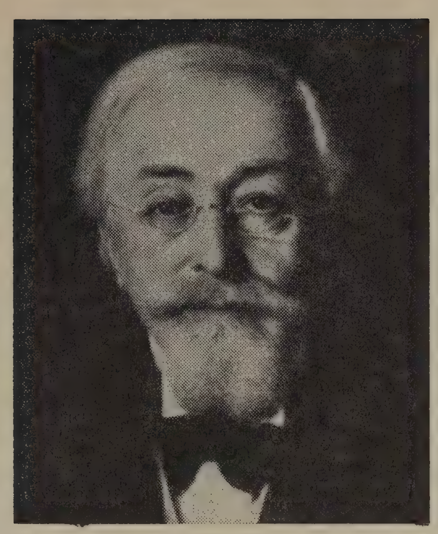
But the important and most original contribution made by Dr. Jacobi was in the field of pediatrics, which in the language of the layman spells children's diseases and the care of babies. With his vast knowledge, close application, and clear thinking, the Doctor might have devoted his rare talents to any other branch of medicine with equal success. It has been suggested that the loss of his six children made him tender to the plight of helpless infants.

The reforms instituted by Dr. Jacobi were long overdue, for a century ago only a percentage of babies ever grew up. What with us is taken for granted was then violently challenged by respectable, authoritative medicos. It seems inconceivable that Dr. Jacobi had to fight strenuously for such obvious necessities as the admission of night air, elimination of flies, advantages of breast feeding, dangers of overfeeding, leaving babies naked in their cradles during the stifling heat, giving babies water when thirsty in hot weather, never to feed babies immediately after vomiting, not to bleed for diphtheria, nor to overdose with mercury or belladonna. He had to ridicule the absurdity that teething caused the death of infants—a post mortem explanation that covered up the ignorance or indolence of incompetent doctors. In his eulogy, Dr. Sayre declared that no child would be born hereafter but would be in debt to Dr. Jacobi.

The reputation of Dr. Jacobi spread in every direction and reached Germany, then the world center of medical research. It was a high tribute when the University of Berlin offered a professorship to the Jewish refugee formerly charged with high treason towards Prussia. Honorary degrees were showered upon him by Michigan, Columbia, Yale, and Harvard Universities. On his 70th birthday, a testimonial dinner was attended by 400 guests, among them William Dean Howells, Henry Villard and his son Oswald Garrison Villard, Felix

Adler, Franz Boas, the leaders of the medical profession, and men prominent in American life. A poem by the scientist S. Weir Mitchell vacationing down South was read. Dr. Joseph D. Bryant, Health Commissioner of New York and Military Surgeon with the rank of Brigadier General, presided. Speeches were delivered by Carl Schurz, Sir William Osler, President Seth Low of Columbia University, and Dr. William H. Thomson, President of the Academy of Medicine. Following a European custom, the *Festschrift* was presented, a volume of tributes from various authorities in science. Twelve years later the American Medical Association woke up and made the 82-year-old Dr. Jacobi its president.

Dr. Jacobi lived to 89 and four days before the end, his prescription restored a babe to health. In a lengthy editorial published in *The Nation,* Oswald Garrison Villard states: "Not that he (Dr. Jacobi) was a narrow specialist; that extraordinary thoroughness he acquired on the other side, his clarity of judgment, his command of principles and his great reasoning powers together with his remarkable learning in all branches of his profession and in many other fields made him in great demand as a consultant of all sorts of cases—even surgical. As a teacher he was of the best because he was one of those instructors who knew so much more than they can possibly give out; one felt instinctively that he never could reveal all the solid deposits of learning he possessed. There were depths that were never plumbed —which makes it all the more tragic that his autobiographical studies and many professional studies of great value were destroyed in the fire which nearly cost him his life last year. Dr. Jacobi was also the clearest of teachers as he was a most impressive speaker because of the clarity of his thought and its expression. More than that he was of the old type physician who was also counsellor and friend, and he was about as far removed from the modern specialist of a certain fashionable type, who helps rich patients enjoy comfortable and long illnesses as this sphere is from Mars. Indeed, he was always more interested in aiding the children of the poor than of any other class. The uncollected and uncharged fees of Abraham Jacobi for services rendered would have made a half-dozen physicians well to do."



DR. SIMON BARUCH.

The contributions to American medicine by Dr. Simon Baruch, while perhaps not as important as those of his contemporary, Abraham Jacobi, were quite significant. In a biographical sketch that appeared in the May, 1903 issue of *Modern Medicine* Dr. Kellogg writes: "The pioneer work which he has done for physiological therapeutics and rational medicine and in the philanthropic application of hydropathic principles entitles him to a splendid monument which the next generation will doubtless see, and has earned for him a large place in the hearts of all who are interested in the progress of rational medicine and in the development of physical methods in therapeutics. * * * Certainly there is not a man in the medical profession today whose services have been of greater worth than have those of Dr. Simon Baruch."

Born in Schwersenz, Posen, under German rule in 1840, Simon Baruch was not eager to be drafted into a Prussian goose-stepping regiment. When 15 he left for the U.S.A. and came to Camden, S. C. where the Baum brothers, also from his home town, were operating a small general store. The bride of Mannes Baum, daugh-

ter of Hardwig Cohen, minister of the cultured congregation in Charleston, sensed the scholarly bent of the young immigrant. She prevailed upon husband and brother-in-law to send the attractive student to the South Carolina Medical College at Charleston. With the shelling of Ft. Sumter the war was on, and Simon had to continue his studies at the Medical College in Virginia.

On graduating he joined the Kershaw Brigade of the Third South Carolina Battalion as assistant surgeon and immediately took part in the second battle of Manassas, wearing the new uniform and bright sword presented by Mannes Baum. Throughout the war he served in the Army of Northern Virginia under Robert E. Lee, with two interruptions when made prisoner while tending the wounded in field hospitals. Under the medical tradition that prescribes equal treatment for friend or foe, he helped the doctors in the Union Army. He never complained of ill treatment while a prisoner. In fact he was able to slip out at night, dance at the homes of some Baltimore belles and return unobserved to prison barracks before dawn.

At the close of the war Baruch was a surgeon with the rank of captain. While tending the wounded and dying night and day in the wake of Sherman's march through North Carolina he contracted typhoid. Two weeks later, after struggling out of fever and deliriums, he learned that Lee and Johnston had surrendered, that he himself had been captured, nursed and released. When the war was over he made his way to Camden on crutches.

For a time he took charge of a hospital in Thomasville, N. C., then returned to practice medicine in Camden for the next 15 years. He went through the terrors of Reconstruction, and as a secret member of the original Ku Klux Klan he wore at night its long white flowing robes emblazoned with a scarlet cross. In his profession he ranked high, becoming President of the South Carolina Medical Society in 1873 and chairman of the State Board of Health in 1880. He is credited with initiating the necessary state laws that stamped out smallpox by vaccination. In 1867 he married Belle Wolfe, granddaughter of the Charleston Hazan, Hardwig Cohen. This un-

ion was blessed with four sons, among them Bernard M. Baruch, now a household name found in many American histories.

Life in a small Southern town without educational facilities, still bearing the scars of war and Reconstruction, was not a satisfactory place to rear young boys. Besides, Dr. Baruch no doubt felt that his own talents needed a broader field. In 1881 he moved to New York City and lived there for the remaining 40 years of his life. A certain reputation had probably preceeded him. The profession was no doubt acquainted with his paper generally known as "Bayonet Wounds of the Chest," the results of his Civil War experience written down while a prisoner at Ft. McHenry, the site for the inspiration of Francis Scott Key's "Star Spangled Banner." In the First World War Bernard was told that his father's essay was still the standard authority on the subject.

In the coastal area of South Carolina malaria was and is still prevalent. For 15 years Dr. Baruch had been investigating the nature of malarial diseases. After coming to New York he wrote a series of articles for the *Medical Record* showing that in temperate climates malaria was rarely fatal. The average doctor scoffed at this hypothesis until it was confirmed ten years later by such eminent authorities as Sir William Osler and Dr. James, Chief of the New York Vanderbilt Clinic.

In the treatment of appendicitis Dr. Baruch blazed a new trail. Called into consultation on a patient with a ruptured appendix, designated then as "inflammation of the bowels" he advised an immediate operation. One of the doctors demurred "He will die if we do." To which Dr. Baruch replied "He will die if we don't." The operation was performed and the patient recovered. Simon Baruch is regarded as the first doctor to diagnose correctly a ruptured appendix from which the patient recovered after a successful operation. He is credited with initiating and developing the surgery in appendectomy. Dr. John A. Wyeth, a surgeon of high reputation, speaking to the New York Academy of Medicine in 1894 stated categorically: "The profession and humanity owe more to Dr. Baruch

than to any other one man for the development of the surgery of appendicitis."

In 1883-84 he was appointed physician to the Northeastern Dispensary and for the three following years gynecologist to the same institution. For 13 years he was physician and surgeon to the New York Juvenile Asylum with the responsibility of caring for 1000 children. He served for eight years as Chief of the Medical Staff of Montefiore Home for Chronic Invalids; he organized its Medical Department and acted as its consulting physician. For a number of years he was Professor of Hydrotherapy in New York's Post Graduate Medical School and Hospital.

Throughout years of service to institutions the Doctor worked hard at private practice earning hardly more than a bare living. On July 1, 1900 he reached sixty and the labor of years were written on his handsome features. On the same day Bernard walked into the office and offered his father a proposition: he would set up a yearly income of double the fees the old gentleman earned if he would retire from active practice. The young millionaire knew his father's dream of the days he could devote fully to medical research. The arrangement was made, but the Doctor insisted he must retain some patients even if subject to their call night or day. The rest of his time he would devote toward realizing his life-long dream.

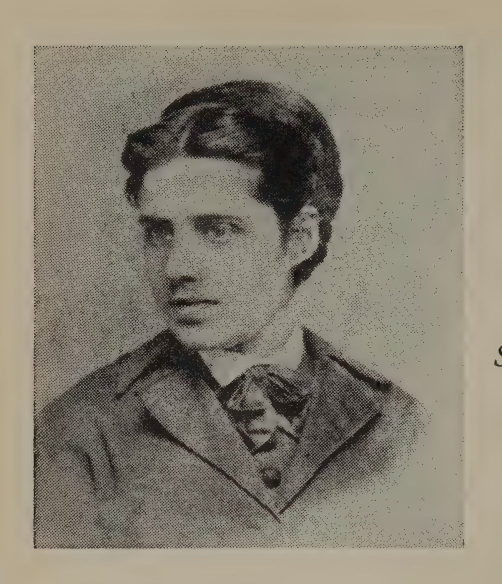
The subject that fascinated him most was hydrotherapy, about which he wrote two books: *The Uses of Water in Modern Medicine* (1892) and *The Principles and Practice of Hydrotherapy* (1898). The theory had been developed by Winternitz in Vienna but Baruch was its leading exponent. He believed profoundly in the medicinal value of water especially for internal as well as external cleansing; he even held to the theory that typhoid fever could be cured with cold water. He preached with a sincerity that inspired conviction. The College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University accepted him but later refused their assent and rejected his hypotheses.

Whether the principles of hydrotherapy are ultimately as sound as Dr. Baruch believed is open to debate. The present opinion of physicians is that as a scientific supposition the theory has been

over-rated. Yet many of his ideas are still considered valid. Hospitals, sanitariums and mental institutions continue to use hydrotherapy, and the sum total of his teachings has been enormously beneficial.

But regardless of scientific theorizing, the practical results of Baruch's labors have been of inestimable value. To have made the public conscious of the necessity of using water constantly was a great step toward the prevention of disease spread by germs or microbes. Baruch's fanatical tenacity resulted in the establishment of free municipal bath houses, first in Chicago, then in New York and subsequently in more than 100 other American cities. And this was a great boon before bathtubs became commonplace in homes, especially at a time when running water was not yet installed in houses, and even after the installation of the unspeakable cold-water flats.

A number of memorials are named in honor of Dr. Baruch. In the lobby of the Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, a department of the New York University—Bellevue Medical Center, hangs a painting inscribed—"Simon Baruch—father of physical medicine, a great humanitarian." The *Simon Baruch Research Institute* in Saratoga was named for his efforts in developing cardiac therapy at this resort. The *Dr. Simon Baruch Public Bath,* the first New York public bath house, remains standing in the midst of the $32,000,000 project, *Baruch House,* dedicated in 1953 by President Eisenhower. Adjacent thereto is the *Dr. Simon Baruch Playground* opened in 1940 by the New York Department of Parks.



1883

EMMA LAZARUS

Sonnet on Statue of Liberty

In 1954 American Jewry observed its tercentenary. Yet no poet was found to celebrate the event. Not that material for an epic is wanting. An odyssey might be fashioned out of the single incident of a Jewish group backing and financing Columbus on his voyage of discovery. The influence and impact of the Jewish segment upon American life in business, labor, music, industry, literature, medicine, the stage and movies, radio and television, journalism and nuclear science is significant and considerable. Within the fold, the vast immigration, the rapid Americanization, the gigantic philanthropies, the help in establishing the State of Israel should inspire the divine afflatus. Yet the only poetic expression of the Jewish ethos in America that produced any marked effect is the sonnet of Emma Lazarus embossed on the base of the Statue of Liberty.

The advent of a poet is unaccountable. Like a meteorite the poetic muse might strike anywhere. Certainly she was unexpected at the home of Moses Lazarus, whose grandfather could marry secretly when the patriot rabbi, Gershom Seixas, during the height of the Revolution, slipped furtively into British held New York to perform

the ceremony. Sugar made the Lazarus fortune, which enabled Moses Lazarus to procure capable tutors for his four daughters when colleges were generally closed to women. Emma displayed an early aptitude for writing verse. At 17 her published book of poems received acclaim. Moving in cultured society, the shy girl was overawed when she met the Olympian god of American literature, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The shrinking Emma in a rash moment mailed her book together with additional handwritten poems to the kindly old philosopher. She regretted the hasty act until the answer arrived. The romantic girl was truly overwhelmed when she read: "The poems have important merits, and I observe that my poet gains in skill as the poems multiply, and she may at last confidently say, I have mastered the obstructions, I have learned the rules; henceforth I command the instrument, and now every new thought and emotion shall make the keys eloquent to my own and to every gentle ear. Few know what treasure that conquest brings—what independence and royalty."

Encouraged and thrilled the young poetess continued the correspondence and increased her output. The lengthy dramatic poem, *Admetus,* on a Greek theme in the classic vein then fashionable among the Victorians, she dedicated "To my friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson." He gave it to the *Atlantic Monthly* and recommended its publication. The editor, William Dean Howells, with slight asperity, wrote the Concord sage that he saw nothing original in the work, which was imitative in the style of Lord Tennyson or William Morris. And yet this poem was well received in England and highly praised as finer than Robert Browning's on a similar theme.

But this rebuff was mild compared to the heartache that she would suffer several years later. Emerson was assembling a huge anthology of English and American poetry. When *Parnassus* appeared she thumbed through the pages excitedly, and then her heart sank. Not one of her poems was in the book of the mentor and adviser, who had praised her work. And yet he included verses of such mediocrities as Henry Howard Barnes, N. L. Frothingham, the mysterious H. H. and Henry Timrod. She also felt equal to such minor poets as

William Cullen Bryant, Julia Ward Howe, Bret Harte, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, who were all there. Heartbroken, she wrote Emerson a despairing letter, the answer to which no one has ever located. Emma became melancholy and depressed.

But she recovered. Perhaps she found comfort in her new estimate of the great thinker whose judgments on poetry were by no means infallible. Consoling was the thought that Emerson could see no merit in Shelley, Walt Whitman or Edgar Allan Poe and consequently had excluded them also. After her blackout she regained confidence in her powers and composed other poems, besides completing the novel *Alide,* based on an incident in Goethe's life. Emma resumed her correspondence with Emerson and spent a week at his home in Concord. She brought along for proofreading her *Spagnoletto,* a poetic drama set in 17th-century Naples. Her host sat up most of the night too interested to lay it down. Emerson pronounced it good, with great dramatic potentialities. But the play was never produced, in spite of her friendship with the great Italian actor Salvini.

Emma Lazarus was nearing spinsterhood without getting anywhere in poetry or in life. Reared in a wealthy home without men, she lived in her ivory tower secluded and protected from the world and its strife. Personally not unattractive and gifted, yet she neither sought nor attracted prospective wooers; and her poetry reflected the inner frustrations of an existence that remained uneventful and unfulfilled. In her *Admetus,* she unconsciously identifies herself with Alcestis who welcomes death.

Writing along the conventional lines of cosmopolitan mid-Victorians, she hardly differed in attitude or content from her contemporaries with their emphasis on Greek aesthetics. Something was missing. More than the mere conventional was expected from a Jewish poetess. Edmund C. Stedman, poet and critic, could not understand the neglect of Jewish tradition which, he thought, should be her greatest inspiration. John Burroughs called her attention to the strong Hebrew stress in the writings of Walt Whitman and

Thomas Carlyle. Emma answered "I am proud of my blood and lineage, but Hebrew ideals do not appeal to me."

One morning in 1881, Emma Lazarus went with several ladies to Ward's Island. Refugees were streaming in from Russia. Perhaps she could do something to help them. But kind Emma was due for a shock that penetrated into the subconscious recesses of her sensitive soul. Were these victims of the Czar's Cossacks actually people of the 19th century or apparitions out of the Dark Ages? How does it happen that descendants of prophet and sage, king and priest, poet and philosopher have "the shuffling gait, the ignominious features, the sordid mask of the son of the ghetto?" Is this the toll exacted by centuries of ruthless persecution? Her own ancestors who fled the Spanish Inquisition must have resembled these weary, squalid fugitives.

After that day Emma Lazarus was never quite the same. Passionate zeal displaced aimless drifting. The pale aesthete forsook the Hellenic shrine for the burning spirit that lives on Mount Zion. She devoured the ample material on Jewish martyrology written in the German language. Michael Heilprin and Rabbi Gustave Gottheil of Temple Emanuel attempted to clarify Jewish lore and ideals; they also supplied a competent instructor of Hebrew. Emma absorbed the medieval poets of Spain and translated poems of Ibn Ezra, Yehuda Halevy and Ibn Gabirol. Poetry and prose, essays and polemics poured out of her full heart. What to say became more important than how to say it. Her five act drama in blank verse *The Dance of Death* quivers with the grim tragedy of Jews in the 14th century inflicting a fiery self-martyrdom because of the beastly behavior of Christians during the Black Death pestilence.

The pogroms, following the assassination of Alexander II, and occurring in 150 towns in Russia almost simultaneously, horrified the American people and created sympathy for the Jewish victims. It appeared quite obvious that such wholesale, uniform slaughter could only be organized and carried out by the Government. Demonstrations were held in many places and ex-President Grant presided over

the protest meeting in New York. The Russians felt a need to defend their bestiality. An article, "Russian Jews and Gentiles" appeared in the *Century Magazine,* written by Madame Ragozin, a journalist of note working in New York. It was a vicious, slanderous canard actually blaming the helpless unarmed victims of the largest empire on earth as the guilty culprits deserving their fate. Now the poet turned polemicist and Emma's reply appeared in the following issue. The Russian propagandist was so completely demolished that she never again attempted to assail Jews or defend her government of barbarians.

But writing polemics or assisting refugees was no solution to the age-old problem. Something more fundamental than philanthropy or journalism was required. Emma read *Daniel Deronda* by George Eliot and was completely entranced. Here was the answer: the return of Jews to Eretz Yisroel, the dream and aspiration of the entire people since the year 70 when Jerusalem was destroyed. She formulated the idea of the Jewish State in Palestine when Theodor Herzl was still a university student. Her program of land buying anticipated the Jewish National Fund. Her pleas for a Jewish Renaissance antedated Ahad Haam. Emma Lazarus found her true soul on Ward's Island.

Poems, essays, articles, translations of Heine and Italian poetry flowed profusely from her teeming brain. Her reputation spread at home and abroad. Needing rest and a change of atmosphere, Emma crossed the ocean. Her reception in England was gratifying; leaders of the Jewish community, men and women prominent in the literary world honored her. She was entertained by such personalities as Edmund Gosse, Henrietta Huxley, Edward and Georgiana Burne-Jones. William Morris, poet and social reformer, attracted her immediately. The great Robert Browning made her feel at home as a welcome house guest. After a short stay in France she returned to England then sailed home, with memories of the happiest four months in her life.

Shortly after the homecoming Emma received a request from the

committee in charge of setting up the gigantic statue "Liberty Enlightening the World," presented by France to the American people. Money was needed to construct a pedestal for the Statue of Liberty to stand on Bedloe's Island in New York Harbor. As a fund raising device the committee would auction off manuscripts from Longfellow, Bret Harte, Walt Whitman, and Mark Twain. Emma Lazarus was asked to contribute a poem. She declined at first, for writing to order was highly distasteful to her. But she sat down and composed a sonnet that sold for $1500. The 14 lines have become immortal. *The New Colossus* breathes the spirit of the Hebrew prophets. Jeremiah himself might also have said:

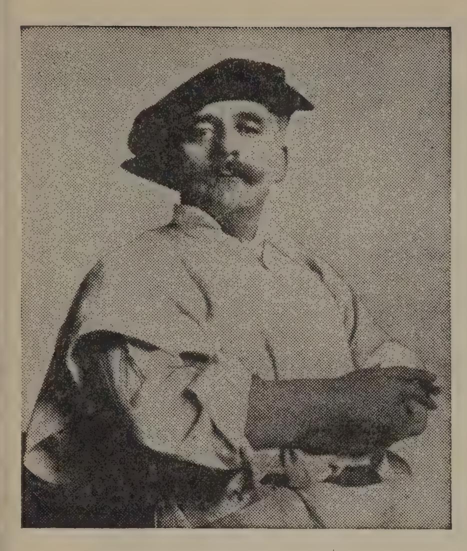
Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me.

It was a satisfaction for Emma to receive a letter from the Ambassador to England, James Russell Lowell. The poet and critic, who had formerly disparaged her work, now wrote "I liked your sonnet about the statue much better than the statue itself. But your sonnet gives its subject a *raison d'etre* which it wanted before quite as much as it wanted a pedestal. You have set it on a noble one, saying admirably just the right word to be said, an achievement more arduous than that of the sculptor."

One almost feels a prophetic spirit in her New Ezekiel. Even more so when she seems to foresee Herzl and the Haganah fighting Israel's War of Independence in her lines:

Oh, deem not dear that martial fire
Say not the mystic flame is spent
With Moses' law and David's lyre,
Let but an Ezra rise anew
To lift the banner of the Jew.

If fancy be here permitted to roam freely, one might ask: What would Emma have said about the Dreyfus Case? What would her paper be like had it been read before the First Zionist Congress at Basle? What cry of pain might have escaped her after the Kishineff massacre? How would her paean of triumph sound at the Balfour Declaration? But these questions remain unanswered. The span of her life was cut short. The voice of the foremost poetess in all modern Jewish literature was hushed in 1887 when Emma Lazarus died of cancer 38 years old.



1884

SIR MOSES J. EZEKIEL

Sculptor

THE NON-EXISTENCE of artists in Jewish life through the centuries is attributed to Moses. The reason for prohibiting the making of any graven image appears quite obvious. During the ages of idolatry, image-making was inextricably bound up with religion. The great lawgiver divined correctly that idols would be worshiped as long as statues abounded in homes, temples, crossroads or public places. Once the icons were removed, paganism would gradually disappear.

And so it happened. Triumphant Christianity closed all pagan temples and destroyed their statuary. The masterworks of Greek sculpture went underground for safe-keeping, to be dug out with the advent of the Renaissance. The taboo imposed by the Second Commandment might have been relaxed or reinterpreted had Christianity not revived the discarded practice. But that is not the whole reason. The Church saw to it that Jews and Judaism should continue their precarious existence outside the pale of Christian society. The separation was rigidly maintained. Thus if a talented Jew had the urge to paint or sculpt, the atelier of the artist, largely if not exclusively occupied with religious subjects, was no place for him. Only

when the 19th century was well under way could a Jewish student master the technique of painting or of the plastic arts.

In 1844 Moses Jacob Ezekiel was born in Richmond, Virginia. The desire to paint, to model, or to versify manifested itself quite early. But the tidal wave of patriotism for the seceded Confederacy soon submerged every other feeling. In 1861 young Moses entered Virginia Military Institute and enlisted as a cadet in the Confederate Army. He took part in the Battle of New Market and rose to the rank of lieutenant. At the close of the war he returned to the Institute and graduated. Going into his father's business would be the next step, but the pull of art was too strong. To his brother he wrote, "I am willing to relish poverty and every labor that would aid me in securing the object of my ambition." In preparation for his lifework, he attended a medical college to study human anatomy. There being no art school in the America of his day, he traveled to Berlin and entered the Royal Academy of Art.

The Franco-Prussian War came on, and Moses Ezekiel needed money to support himself. He became war correspondent for the *New York Herald* and was confined to prison for eight days on suspicion of being a French spy. Recognition came when he completed a large statue of Washington, which won his admission to the exclusive Berlin Society of Artists. He opened a studio and produced "Israel," a bas-relief in stone 8 by 6 feet, which caused much comment in German art circles. This grouping gained for him a much coveted prize, the Michael Beer Prix de Rome with 3000 Thalers, established by the brother of Meyerbeer, the musician.

Ezekiel's unusual wall plaque inspired the German poet Pietschman to express his admiration in verse and David Philipson, author and rabbi, has this to say: "Israel as the religious genius among the nations, the crusher of idolatry, the suffering Messiah, Jerusalem destroyed, the Jewish nationality lost with the last of the kings, but Israel immortal through the religious idea that it embodies, these are the thoughts which the young sculptor desired to express in plastic form. The theme was most unusual. The artist had struck out a new and an individual path. Here was an original thinker."

In a letter written in 1873 the sculptor himself sets out his unconventional theme: "Israel is represented by a strong male figure in the center in an attitude of complaint and despair with the right arm over the head, the eyes upraised to Heaven beseechingly. The left hand is bound on the back, the right foot resting upon the demolished golden calf of idolatry. On the left a female figure bowed in grief, abandoned and with a demolished wall crown on her head represents Jerusalem; on the right the last Jewish King reposing on his broken sceptre; and where his blood is spilled, a tree grows up in the form of a cross upon which Christ is nailed. The frame from the circular segment outward will be composed of figures representing Law and Poetry (our gifts to the world). On the right Moses with the Tables of Stone and on the left David with the harp. At the center above, the head of the Sphinx signifying the mysteries of Providence and on each side a caryatide of Egyptian figures."

For the next 44 years, Ezekiel lived and worked in Rome. An expatriate, he remained a fervent patriot of America; in the capital of Catholicism he continued a proud and loyal Jew. Yet the Eternal City did cast a spell on him. Identification with past Roman grandeur found expression in his famous studio, set up in the Baths of Diocletian and later removed to the vaulted Belisarius Tower in the old city walls. Here he assembled the art treasures of many places and periods. Ancient statues of alabaster and marble stood near the couches, chairs and curios of antique furniture. On the walls formerly covered with frescoes hung rich old brocades, borders of royal red velvet and gold, mirrors and landscapes. The catholicity of his taste was evidenced by bronzes, old parchments, church ornaments, ivories from India and China, and relics made expressive with precious stones. In the midst of it all stood a grand piano on which talented friends rendered to appreciative listeners the music of Beethoven, Mozart, Mendelssohn, and Bach.

The fascinating studio might be visited by the prominent, the famous, or those who occupied the seats of the mighty. Even the King and Queen of Italy called to pay homage to the gifted sculptor. Yet the sensitive artist could not banish from his mind the presence

of the Roman ghetto not far away. He wrote with pain and grief about the miserable ghetto, the relic of hate and bigotry that impoverished, stunted and walled in his brethren until 1870. While working on the Monument to Religious Liberty ordered by the B'nai B'rith for the Centennial Exposition of American Independence at Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, the memory of the ghetto nearby was no doubt ever present. The Monument consists of a woman wearing a Phrygian cap, a coat of mail with a dagger at her side, indicating her intention to defend the young boy at her right, the symbol of faith. At her left, a large eagle, representing the state, is grasping in its claws the serpent of intolerance, the spirit that maintained the ghetto in Rome. Viewing the completed monument, the great Italian liberator, Garibaldi, exclaimed, "This is the greatest thing that could have happened to me. To know that a work of art representing the separation of Church and State could have been conceived and carried out under the shadow of the Vatican itself is solace indeed."

In this stimulating and inspiring environment Ezekiel worked furiously to his last days. The astonishing number of his creations run into the hundreds. They are to be found in public squares, in university campuses, in the Arlington and other cemeteries, in palaces, in state capitols, in art museums, in navy yards, in Westminster Abbey, in the capitals—Washington, Paris, London, Berlin and Rome.

Ezekiel chiseled into marble his conception of the Judaic spirit. Among his subjects, besides *Israel* and *Religious Liberty,* are *Adam and Eve; Cain,* or the *Offering of the Rejected; David* and *Queen Esther; Eve,* which stood in the palace of Sans Souci before the Russians took East Berlin over; the torso of *Judith* and the monument to Massarani in the Jewish cemetery at Rome. The memorial to Jesse Seligman, 10 feet high, stands at the entrance hall of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. The theme of his *Religious Liberty* is here summed up on the papyrus roll the melancholy orphan boy is holding with the words: "His charity knew no Race or Creed." *David* and *Judith* evoked from Gabrielle d'Annunzio the lines:

David lifts up to God his hand victorious
Singing; and on his divine shoulder swings—
And crescent-like glistens, his mighty steel.
Judith looks down placid in scorn and glorious;
And from her temples, tresses of wavy rings
Descend, a heavy clustering grapelike weal.

Jewish conceptions he carried over to Christian themes. Ezekiel astounded cultivated people with his bust of *Christ,* with *Ecce Homo* and *The Martyr.* His *Christ in the Tomb* can be seen in the chapel of La Charité, Rue Jean Goujon, Paris. The treatment of Jesus shows originality. Whereas a legion of artists have portrayed the Christian Savior with purely Gentile features, Ezekiel identifies Jesus of Nazareth as a Jew. He goes further. In Jewish interpretation of the 53rd Chapter of Isaiah, the suffering servant has always been the Jew in his long agony, enduring persecution through the centuries. To Ezekiel, Jesus is the symbol of the people of Israel. His sensitive soul could find no more fitting expression of Jewish martyrdom than in the sufferings of the Son of Man.

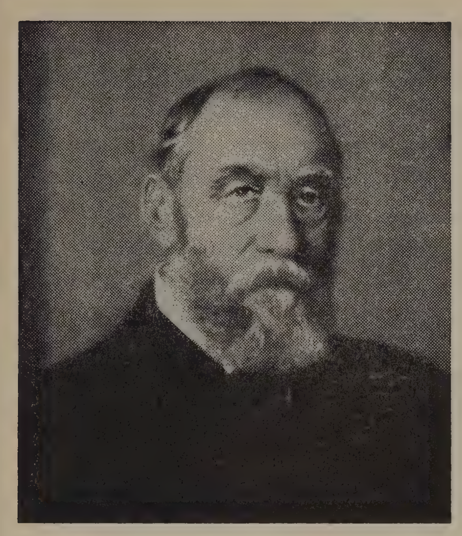
American to the bone, Moses Ezekiel was affected by the politics, the industry, the history and ideals of his native land. He was also sensitive to the cultures of the past, to classic Hellenism, to Roman and Renaissance art, to modern music. These concepts, ancient and modern, he expressed in marble or bronze. Touching was his deep attachment to the fallen Confederacy, the Lost Cause of his younger days. His *Virginia Mourning Her Dead* stands in Lexington, Va.; *Stonewall Jackson* graces the State House at Charleston, West Virginia; the *Robert E. Lee Monument* is in Piedmont, Va.; the village of Westmoreland proudly displays his *Lee a Boy.* He did the *Outlook* for the Confederate cemetery at Johnson's Island, Ohio. In 1914 his great Confederate monument, commissioned by the Daughters of the Confederacy, was dedicated in the Arlington National Cemetery by Woodrow Wilson.

Modern critics may no longer be pleased with the style of Moses Ezekiel. Radical changes have swept over music, architecture, paint-

ing, as well as the plastic arts. This revolution has virtually banished the realistic likeness, the symmetry, the clarity, the dignified pose of the classic or romantic schools in favor of the impressionistic, the abstract, the surrealistic. The figures of Epstein may seem bizarre or grotesque when placed alongside the statues of a Michelangelo. We do not know whether the new phase is a passing fad. But it did succeed in demolishing the realistic schools of the past.

In estimating the work of Moses Ezekiel we can only consider its effect upon his day and generation. The impact was certainly impressive. High honors were heaped upon him by the Royal Art Association of Palermo, the St. Louis Exposition, the Duke of Saxe-Meinengen. The Raphael medal was presented by Urbino. Sir Moses Jacob Ezekiel was knighted a chevalier by the King of Italy. The Emperor of Germany conferred knighthood with a Cross of Merit in Art.

But more gratifying than formal honors are personal friendships. This loyal son of Israel had close friends among Protestants, Catholics and Jews. Personal charm, grace of manner, fascinating speech, warm sympathy combined with devotion attracted such eminent personalities as the ambassador and writer Thomas Nelson Page, the distinguished rabbis Isaac M. Wise and David Philipson, the novelist F. Marion Crawford, the famous musician Franz Liszt, and the immortal Robert E. Lee. At his deathbed in Rome stood men and women of note. He left instructions to send his body to the land of his birth. Sir Moses Jacob Ezekiel lies in Arlington Cemetery, the national shrine for America's patriots.



1885

HERMAN ROSENTHAL

Back to the Soil

A HISTORIC PROCESS is sometimes evolved in the life of an individual. The story of Moses Mendelssohn furnishes the symbol of emancipation from the German ghetto. The *Haskalah* movement, the *Am Olam* program for settling on farms, the Russo-Jewish rapid adaptation to the American environment, are all revealed in the career of Herman Rosenthal, born 1843 in Courland, now called Latvia, during the regime of reactionary Czar Nicholas I.

Young Herman benefited by the moderate reforms of semi-liberal Alexander II in securing a Gymnasium education. Graduated at 16, he could translate Russian poems into German. Later he wrote original poems in German and could publish them while engaged in the printing business. At this time the Haskalah was in its heyday. Its adherents waged bitter warfare against Talmudic orthodoxy and stressed modern education as a weapon to demolish Rabbinic tyranny. They believed in Russification as a means of currying favor with the government and thereby mollifying the hate that was becoming unbearable. Some went so far as to favor complete assimilation. Under the stimulus of current thinking Herman Rosenthal

joined the Russian Red Cross in the war on Turkey in 1877-78 and received a medal for distinguished service.

While master-printer and merchant, Rosenthal wrote a short story and assisted in starting a daily paper in Kiev. The St. Petersburg Society for the Promotion of Culture among Russian Jews elected him correspondent. Suddenly the horrific pogroms of 1881 broke out simultaneously in a number of cities, obviously instigated and coordinated by the Government. The anti-religious Jewish intelligentsia changed its thinking overnight. Shattered were their dreams of betterment through patriotic service or identification with Russian culture. Many reverted to traditional loyalty under the banner of *Am Olam,* the "Eternal People." The duty of remaining in Russia to struggle for changes of the *status quo* evaporated in favor of emigrating to the freedom of Western lands.

In a mood for some soul searching, the Maskillim took to heart the lessons to be learned from the Old World and concluded that haggling in the market place was responsible for much of the odium. Petty trading should be abandoned for the more healthy occupation connected with the soil. The *luftmensch* must become metamorphozed into a self-respecting farmer. The *Am Olam* took over from the Haskalah that romantic notion which idealized the plow and sickle as instruments ennobling the spirit of man in close contact with the earth. A group clamored for agricultural colonies in the ancient Jewish homeland. But the majority favored immigration to the United States.

Herman Rosenthal had joined the *Am Olam* and reached New York in 1881. Not without means, he could make a new start for a successful career, even as a printer. But the idealist sensed in the immense Republic, free from Old World animus, the opportune place for realizing the Haskalah dream of transferring the Jew from peddling to agriculture. A successful colony might impel others to form similar projects. The new ventures would then show the way to rid the world of Judeophobia.

Idealistic dreams seldom meet with ready encouragement from the practical or worldly. The established community, taxed sorely with

the ever mounting problems of immediate care for the hordes of refugees flocking in with every ship, could not even be approached for long-range colonizing schemes. Besides, exasperating reports came over from the pious in Europe condemning the Am Olam for displaying antagonism towards the beliefs and practices of Orthodoxy. The Reform element, chiefly of German extraction, harbored ancient animosities towards Polish or other East Europeans. The exception was Michael Heilprin, scholar of encyclopedic knowledge, who sympathized thoroughly with such agricultural aspirations, and with his last strength gave a helping hand.

Encouragement came from an unexpected source. Governor McEnery of Louisiana sent a telegram to the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* offering 160 acres to each prospective homesteader willing to settle in his state. If New York Jewry showed little interest, the New Orleans community was sufficiently aroused to call a meeting. The then substantial sum of $5000 was pledged and a committee appointed to examine the lands offered. The soil was found unsuitable. A business man then offered to sell a large tract for colonization on easy terms, tax free for two years. A committee of three spent 10 days inspecting the land and reported favorably, stating, that half of the tract had been cultivated, fenced in, and contained several houses. In the nearest town of Harrisburg, Judge Elam addressed a mass meeting which adopted resolutions of welcome.

All this sounded like sweet music to the ears of refugees who escaped the unspeakable barbarities of savage Cossacks, drugged and egged on by a government bent on wholesale murder. Herman Rosenthal assembled 173 young people eager to sail for Louisiana. They were neither peasants stupefied by ignorance nor idlers shirking hard work. Among them were 11 acquainted with farming, six laborers, and the rest storekeepers, teachers, students and artisans—in the main idealists ready to pioneer and share their labor in a friendly atmosphere of cooperation. Nor were all penniless, ready to grasp the first straw. Nine of the colonists contributed about $4000 into the treasury. The Montefiore Agricultural Aid Society of New York added $2800 to the New Orleans pledges. Altogether the capital

raised aggregated about $20,000, not a large sum but not contemptible in a day of extremely low cost of living.

The New Orleans community entertained the first contingent of 48 males in a festively decorated hotel. Following their initial naturalization as citizens, they marched with flags, banners and lanterns to serenade their benefactors. Amidst high enthusiasm, well wishers saw them off as they embarked for Sicily Island in the height of winter, the pleasant season of the tropical zone which was scarcely above sea level. A month later Herman Rosenthal wrote enthusiastically to the New Orleans backers listing the trees cut down, the roads repaired, the wells dug, the corn and vegetables planted, the 450 acres fenced in, the three new cottages added to the two larger houses already on the island.

The next letter sent in early spring had some complaints to offer: the heat and humidity were hard on people accustomed to cold climes; the lack of drinking water—brackish as it was; the loneliness of separation from wives and children; the sense of isolation away from intellectual currents. They had only two yoke of cattle and two mules for the entire colony. The crops were beginning to sprout, to be sure, but it seemed impossible to cope with the weeds springing up in such abundance.

The acute minds out of the Russian Pale began to take stock of their neighbors. It was disconcerting to find the native farmer poverty-stricken and sunk hopelessly in failure and debt. When many of the colonists began to shiver with cold and burn with heat they learned about malaria for the first time. A few decided to leave and seek jobs in factories or take up the peddler's pack. The majority, however, were determined to stick it out regardless of hardship or temporary discouragements. But the knock-out blow occurred in April, four months after the auspicious beginning. The Mississippi rose, broke through the levees, and flooded the island. Their possessions destroyed, the results of their labors were in ruins. Against this evil argument availed not. The colonists lost heart and scattered in all directions, abandoning their investment to the enervating heat, the mosquitoes and angry "Ole Man River."

The experience on Sicily Island, it might seem, would discourage any further attempt at immediate colonization—at least not in the same region. Apparently little was learned from the Louisiana fiasco. Late in the same year of 1882 another Am Olam group of about 150 men, women and children left New York to settle in Arkansas. A tract of land midway between Little Rock and Memphis was offered on liberal terms. It does not appear that any investigations, any study as to the feasibility of the enterprise, was attempted. Nor was the New Orleans community near enough to offer advice or extend help. The pioneers were attracted by the proposal of a lumber company to pay $20 per thousand for all staves cut and delivered.

On arrival the city dwellers were enchanted. Such magnificent trees they had never seen in the slums of the Pale or on the sidewalks of New York. The green leafed branches swayed by the spring breezes seemed to greet them. Some wrote to friends about finding the Garden of Eden, and it was now their own. Such lyrical transports induced 30 Odessa immigrants to follow suit. For the neighboring virgin forest $150 an acre did not appear steep, even if land in the 1880s could be had almost for the mere asking. Strangely enough, the second group was joined by two members of the defunct Louisiana colony. They evidently developed a nostalgia for the hardships they had experienced far in the Southland.

The Odessa contingent received no welcome from branches waving hosannas. Summer was on and the temperature often reached 105 to 108 degrees in the shade. They soon perceived that farming would be impossible in the forest primeval so dense with underbrush that the natives could not penetrate the jungle. Their only means of support lay in cutting and selling staves, for which a ready market existed. Two men could cut but a thousand in two weeks. The colonists received $10 when the staves were cut and $10 after delivery. The cut lumber had to be floated down streams for delivery, made almost impossible by continuous floods. Had the colonists a saw mill or buzz saw they could probably make enough to support 180 souls in modest comfort.

The torrid heat caused much suffering. The wood cutters began

work at four in the morning and stopped at eleven to eat beans and corn bread. They worked again from five until nightfall. The houses sheltered the women and children; the men slept in the open, often awakened by snakes slithering by. Rainstorms, veritable cloudbursts, forced the entire settlement into the largest building. Lightning hit the gigantic tree outside the house and by a miracle the crashing trunk missed the inmates. Heavy rains and tropical heat bred mosquitoes by the million. The settlers thought their agony complete, with no lotions to heal or relieve the stings of this pest. But the worst was yet to come. In July malaria had 90 per cent of the settlement down, their teeth chattering from cold followed by a burning fever. Still worse things came with the visitation of a dread disease. About 20 were carried off by yellow fever, the dead including a family of two parents and three children. The neighboring doctor had the humanity to furnish quinine and services and wait for payment. A Jewish business man helped to nurse the sick and bury the dead.

There was nothing left to do but plead with the Am Olam comrades in New York to end their misery by removing them from the plague spot. By September, 1883 the colony in Arkansas ceased its tortured existence. Even this harrowing adventure did not dampen the ardor of some of the colonists who returned to New York and planned to start a new colony under more favorable conditions. The 1880 decade witnessed about 16 attempts to establish such settlements in the United States. The authority on the subject, Gabriel Davidson, Managing Director of the Jewish Agricultural Society declares in *Our Jewish Farmer:*

"Unfortunately, these colonies were short lived. The only survivors are those in New Jersey where proximity to New York and Philadelphia saved them from the common fate. In Louisiana it was flood, in Arkansas malaria, in Dakota hail and drought, in Colorado aridity, in early Sholem, in Kansas and in Michigan, a combination of circumstances that doomed their ventures. In Oregon the cause lay not in the physical but in the spiritual domain. These colonies were conceived in haste without adequate

thought to these factors upon which successful colonization depends. Geographical location, the character of land, the fitness of colonists, capital needs, farm experience, leadership—none of these vital requirements received sufficient consideration. Though ill fated, these agricultural adventures were not altogether bare of result. These very failures led to the creation of the Baron de Hirsch Fund and the Jewish Agricultural Society whose guidance gave the Jewish farm movement form and direction and helped a sizable section of Jews to attain the goal for which these pioneers struggled so valiantly."

The debacle in Louisiana did not discourage Herman Rosenthal, who attributed failure to excessive heat and the Mississippi overflow. The Territory of Dakota, free of both evils, he considered suitable for people from cold climates. The policy of the government giving away its land to homesteaders was a compelling factor for establishing the colony Cremieux, named to honor the distinguished president of Alliance Israelite Universelle. Soon about 200 pioneers flocked to the settlement that stretched over 15 miles.

The first step foreshadowed failure. The committee sent to Milwaukee purchased lumber far too fancy for pioneering. They brought back expensive horses, blissfully ignoring the complete lack of stables. Water had to be carted from a pond four miles away. Scarcity of water plagued the colony throughout its existence. A prairie fire on Yom Kippur Eve threatened to destroy the rising structures. A German carpenter, acquainted with the peril, had the presence of mind to organize all the men, women and children to create a barrier that stopped the progress of the raging conflagration. Not a speck of fodder nor strand of hay remained for the cattle. Error upon error piled up in building the settlement. Yet nothing could dampen the buoyant enthusiasm.

A cruel winter followed. Kerosene froze in the lamps; water lugged in barrels over three miles turned to solid ice; the breath of sleepers congealed on their pillows at night. Severe blizzards forced the settlers to make fast their bodies with ropes tied to posts in order to prevent being swept into billows of the snow and ice. Cattle had to

go without water for days. Yet no illness developed in the colony.

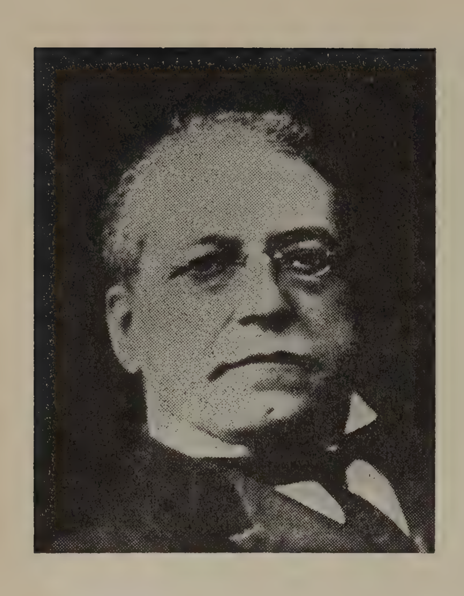
The endless winter finally passed. Corn, vegetables and flax planted in the spring were harvested in the fall. The crops proved good but low market prices put the colonists back financially. Flax yielded a fair return, so a large crop was planted the following year. The promising crop, beautiful to behold, was destroyed by a hailstorm. The farmers, all on their own, fell into debt. Interest, charges and bonuses ran up the cost of mortgage money to 50 per cent. A drought ruined the crops and decimated the cattle. The mortgagees filed foreclosures and the exodus of settlers began. Cremieux joined the procession of failures.

Fortunate enough to trade his farm for a grain elevator, Herman Rosenthal did a thriving business at Mitchell in South Dakota until forced out by the large rival elevator companies. He tried Louisville, Kentucky, then returned to New York and opened a book shop, which he gave up for the job of Chief Statistician of the Edison General Electric Company. He attracted the notice of the railroad builder and magnate, James J. Hill, and was sent in 1892 by the Great Northern Railroad Company to investigate the trade possibilities of Korea, China and Japan. On his return the following year, he published a report of his findings.

For two years Rosenthal held the post of Chief of the Discharging Department of the Immigration Bureau at Ellis Island. In 1898 he became Chief of the Slavonic Department of the New York Public Library. Examining the Russian literature that came to his desk, he translated into English two works of significance at the time. Written by Russians in high places they revealed the unspeakable cruelties, the rotten bureaucracy, the corruption in the army, the ghastly ignorance that was leading the Czar's empire to destruction. Appointed to the board of the Jewish Encyclopedia, he found time to edit its extensive Russian department.

A rare combination of writer, poet, colonizer, executive, translator and business man, Herman Rosenthal died in 1917. His associates and colleagues paid their tribute to the man in the New York Public Library Bulletin:

"These are the principal facts in the outer life of a man of singular charm—a character lovable to all his friends and associates. He had touched life at many angles and looked with a humorous philosophy upon great and upon humble folk in a dozen different parts of the world. His recollections included personal experiences with people as widely separated as Russian emperors and high officials and cowboys of the West. To the day, almost to the hour, of his death, he kept his kindly and human sentiments alive—to his associates his departure is a keen and personal loss. Mr. Rosenthal's wide reading and cosmopolitan spirit were remarkable; his generous and kindly nature far too fine to be easily appraised."



1886

SAMUEL GOMPERS

President of A. F. of L.

LESS THAN A CENTURY AGO, the majority of American workers were underpaid, often underfed, and without security against unemployment due to lockouts, layoffs or the cycles of business depressions. Labor without proper organization could not wield its most effective weapon—the power to strike. Today the American Federation of Labor is powerful enough to dictate terms to billion-dollar steel or motor corporations. This change of status can be attributed largely to the organizing efforts of Samuel Gompers.

When a child in London's East End, little Sammy saw the misery of people out of work and never forgot the sound of hungry men crying because they could not bring home food to their starving wives and children. They stood outside the silk factory, opposite the Gompers' home begging for work. Yet these unemployed were descended from the French Huguenots who, expelled by Louis XIV in 1685, came to England and brought their skills in silk weaving. For generations they practiced their craft which brought living wages to them and wealth to England. But the newly invented

machinery replaced their skill and took away their jobs. Gompers told the story sixty years later in his autobiography.

Nor was poverty unknown in the Gompers' household. Solomon Gompers, a cigar maker, hardly earned enough to feed six children, much less educate them. At the age of six, Sam was sent to the Jewish Free School for a general education and to night school for Hebrew and Talmud. This was all the schooling he ever got. When 10 years old he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, but he preferred cigar-making and was indentured at a salary of one shilling a week for the first year and two for the second. Conditions were bad in England during the American Civil War. Factories unable to secure Southern cotton closed and much suffering ensued. The Cigar Makers Society, with its meager funds, decided to pay the passage of some members, including Solomon Gompers, to the U.S.A.—not solely because of philanthropy but also to reduce the number competing for jobs at home.

The family disembarked at Castle Garden just after the Battle of Gettysburg. Thirteen-year-old Sam imbibed and retained the war fervor generated in the North. Later when the body of Lincoln, brought to New York, was lying in state, he waited for hours to catch a glimpse of the venerated martyr. This patriotic idealism survived his subsequent disillusionment with the Republican Party.

A house was obtained on the lower East Side and Sam labored at cigar-making with his father, doing piecework at home. Growing up in New York's stimulating atmosphere, Sam took full advantage of the opportunities offered; the lectures, the theater, the music, the literary and debating societies, the classes at Cooper Union. Even the workshop had educational value, for cigar-making was mechanical and noiseless to the skillful. So the workers took turns reading aloud to each other out of books, magazines, pamphlets and newspapers, followed by comments and spirited arguments. At 14, Sam Gompers had joined the Cigar Makers Union and remained a card-bearing member to his last day.

Since Colonial times, labor unions had had a precarious existence in the agricultural economy of America. They were regarded with

repugnance and suspicion by the legislatures, the courts and the masters of capital. After the Civil War industrialization began on a large scale. At the same time, large-scale immigration brought many workers, skilled and unskilled, who would accept work at any wage and under any conditions. Among them were thinking, well-educated men, who had been exposed to Revolutionary, Socialistic and trade-union theories, elaborated by Europe's intelligentsia. They made it more and more clear to Americans that labor, a basic factor in producing wealth, was left out in the division of profits. Only by organizing could the workers achieve better living standards.

The career of Samuel Gompers was shaped by environmental conditions, intelligent associates and the chaotic state of labor. His very lack of formal education left open a vacuum that made room for the absorption of the knowledge most important to his lifework. Such stimulating intellectuals as Adolph Strasser, Karl Laurrell and others with their European backgrounds, economic theories and realistic approach were healthy influences in molding his concepts.

Even more important was the practical knowledge derived from experience in the day-by-day handling of union affairs with the many problems of enforcing discipline, of preventing strikes for trivial causes, of unsnarling tangles, of negotiating with employers. It was difficult because American Labor had no traditions and few precedents to follow. When a worker became angry at the boss he started a revolt in declaring: "I am going to strike! All who remain are scabs." Usually the men walked out without stating their grievances or demanding redress. The capabilities, the untiring labors, the honest devotion of Samuel Gompers were recognized when at 25 he was elected President of the newly formed Cigar Makers Union No. 114, which became a model for trade unions and an important factor in the history of American Labor.

For the next decade his life was hectic. Every phase of union activity was attempted, and not without mistakes. Fortunately Gompers was young enough to profit by the trial-and-error method. In 1877 he virtually directed the strike against cigarmaking in tenements by entire families, including children, working late into the

night for pitiful wages. The strike failed. Starving workers could not prevail against the rich Cigar Manufacturers Association. The Gompers' household came close to starvation when Samuel was blacklisted and refused a job because of his leadership. Legislation was next resorted to and another lesson learned. After strenuous pressure, the New York Assembly outlawed sweatshops in tenements. The Senate approved and the Governor signed the bill. Labor was jubilant until the courts declared the law unconstitutional.

Samuel Gompers became firmly convinced—and the conviction hardened into a dogma—that American labor must be organized on the national scale into a federation of unions. Their combined resources would make strikes effective. Disciplined behavior under responsible leadership would create a favorable public opinion with its resultant influence on the courts. The voting strength of organized labor should impress the politicians and bring about the passage of favorable laws in the Federal and State Legislatures.

In 1881, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the U. S. and Canada was formed. Gompers was nominated President, but he withdrew in favor of John Jarret. This was fortunate, since the fundamental concepts of the future A. F. of L. had not yet been formulated. Nor did blurred thinking separate trade unionism from Socialism. As president, Gompers might have exhausted his boundless energy in building up an organization not yet ripe for its gigantic tasks. As Chairman of the Committees on Organization, on Platform, on Legislation, he gradually worked out the principle and platform and Constitution that served so admirably later. Significantly, when he could not attend the fourth convention in 1884, the Federation, never robust, began to expire. Reorganization became necessary, and on Dec. 8th 1886, the American Federation of Labor was founded with Sam Gompers as President.

Beginning in a humble, unfurnished room with a kitchen table for a desk and wooden crates discarded by the grocer for files, the A. F. of L. evolved slowly into the most powerful labor organization in the world; its headquarters, a seven-story building in Washington, D. C. was dedicated by President Woodrow Wilson. One may seek

the reason for its growth, since there were earlier attempts at organizing labor on the national scale and such leaders as Daniel De Leon, Eugene V. Debs, and T. V. Powderly were able, honest and devoted. In 1886 the largest and most influential American labor body, The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor, was a mixture of secret lodge, mystical order, fraternal society and labor federation, with a membership of 750,000. Yet with all its prestige, it melted away and disappeared after a generation. Today the A. F. of L. can boast that it represents 10,000,000 workers.

Something in the mental and spiritual makeup of Samuel Gompers fitted him for his lifework and led him to choose the substantial and discard the deceptive. Early associations taught him to distrust the intellectual, the *luftmensch* of ideas, without substance or basis in life or experience. He learned to beware of the Socialist doctrinaire, ready to sacrifice the interests of labor to change the world order. Politics he recognized as a profession; therefore labor as a political party would become a tool for the manipulations of the professional politician, for attaining, wielding or preserving power. Nor could the trade union become management or turn capitalist without losing its character. Rational, pragmatic, intuitive, he struck the hard core of reality upon which to build the labor organization. He reduced the demands of labor to the simplest program: higher wages, shorter hours and a better standard of living.

The enormous success of the American Federation of Labor might be attributed to the careful planning, the equitable checks and balances that went into the drafting of its Constitution, suggested by the instrument that holds together the Federal Union. But even more important were the moral fervor, the zealous idealism, the passionate rationale of its first Executive, who took charge of an idea, an organization on paper, a "rope of sand" and infused it with his own vital energy. Gompers himself probably did not know that his strong sympathies for the hungry unemployed, his emotional involvment for the rootless, insecure, marginal worker lay deeply rooted in his own subconscious. Submerged memories of his Jewish ancestors living on the periphery of a hostile world and denied

the right to dignified manly labor were perhaps the motive powers behind his lifelong dedication to the workers. His single-tracked devotion to labor recalls the ancient prophet who subordinated his ease and safety so that Israel might live.

The A. F. of L. expanded from year to year and developed strong, aggressive leaders with perhaps newer conceptions of Labor's role in politics and industry. Yet Gompers remained the dominating head to his last day, reelected, with the exception of one year, from 1886 to 1924. He grew in stature and by World War I became an important national figure. Woodrow Wilson appointed him on the powerful Advisory Committee of the Council of National Defense. More than any one else he induced organized labor to support the President's war policy. Shoulder to shoulder he stood with the top men of the nation directing the war effort that brought victory. In 1918 he served on the Commission for International Labor Legislation and at the suggestion of Wilson and Clemenceau atttended the Peace Conference at Versailles. In England he was received by the King and Queen, and on the Continent he met the most eminent personalities.

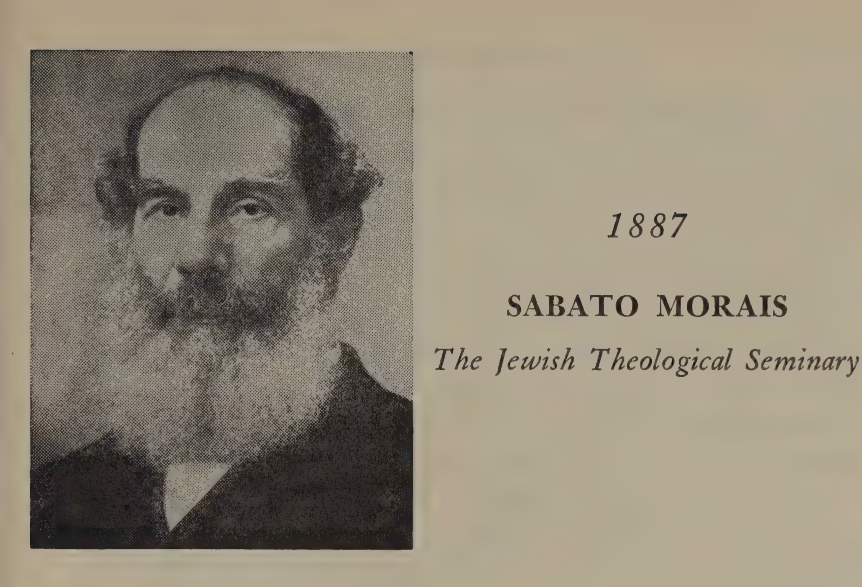
In his Autobiography William Allen White describes Gompers at a conference called after the war by President Wilson to consider the 12-hour day in the Steel industry. It was attended by a number of distinguished citizens, with Judge Elbert H. Gary representing the Steel Trust. Says White: "The last session of the conference was notable. . . . On the front seat sat Judge Gary who upheld the 12-hour day. . . . Gompers was on the program to reply to Gary. . . . The cold, determined, indomitable physical nature of the man never had a more grilling test than that afternoon under the Gompers' arraignment. Gompers himself was . . . on the whole the most interesting figure in the conference. . . . He was Judge Gary's antithesis. . . . His face was mobile, his mouth was large and strong, his jaw was brutal and indomitable. He had the big nose of the ruler, but his eyes—there was mystery . . . when he opened them wide they gave a flaming effect to his face. Generally they were half closed, and back of the eyes sat the Jew, the quiet, inscrutable ori-

ental—grim, purposeful, imaginative—the eyes of a man who saw great visions. The soul behind them dreamed huge dreams—an old man's dreams, not a young man's glowing visions. . . . Yet Gompers was the ideal of the doughty bunch of Irish labor men who surrounded him and his will prevailed without discussion or argument. They believed in him, they knew they could trust him. He was absolutely true, genuinely square in his relations to those about him. For all the furtive oriental cast of his face, his character was Western, fundamentally American."

With failing health he wielded the gavel for the last time during the A. F. of L. Convention at El Paso. Always interested in Pan-American labor cooperation, it was a deep satisfaction to him to welcome the Mexican Federation of Labor that crossed the Rio Grande from its convention at Juares. His end was near, yet he accepted the invitation of the newly-elected President Calles to be the nation's guest at the inauguration. Attendance at the functions that honored him proved too strenuous. He collapsed and barely reached Texas in time to die on American soil. Crowds came to pay their respects at the stations as the train draped in black sped by. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise conducted the service with a fitting eulogy, and a decade later Franklin D. Roosevelt dedicated the monument to him that stands in the Capital of the Nation.



MEMORIAL TO SAMUEL GOMPERS IN WASHINGTON, D. C.



1887

SABATO MORAIS

The Jewish Theological Seminary

LEGHORN, now called Livorno, in Italy was a monument to Jewish commercial drive as it was to the statesmanship of the Florentine Medicis. In the 16th century exiles and Marranos from Spain were frantic in their search for havens of refuge. Yet Christian and Moslem rulers, beset with faltering economies, were too fanatic to utilize the business abilities that went begging. But there were notable exceptions. The Turks and the Dutch benefited enormously by admitting the Spanish Jews, perhaps the ablest single group of that era. The Medici family, which gave Rome two Popes and France two Queens, had too much acumen to be swayed by bigotry. These Dukes of Florence welcomed the Jewish refugees to Leghorn and guaranteed such civil and religious liberties as were possible in that obscurantist century. This far-sighted toleration paid off handsomely. Leghorn was booming while the former sea goddesses, Venice and Genoa, contemplating the idle wharves, were dreaming of their lost commercial supremacy.

With the early settlers in Leghorn including the Montefiores, came the Morais family. They were active in the religious and

intellectual life of the community which built a beautiful synagogue, had schools of learning, and even set up a Hebrew printing press. But the industrial revolution which arose in Northern Europe destroyed the commerce of Leghorn. By the 19th century the Jews of Livorno were impoverished. Samuel Morais possessed learning and deep enthusiasm for a free and united Italy, which patriotism landed him in jail. His son Sabato, born in 1823, absorbed the Jewish knowledge available from the learned Italian rabbis and displayed a penchant for languages in acquiring French, Aramaic, Spanish and Hebrew, besides the native Italian. Well grounded in Hebrew and Italian literature, he felt qualified for the post of assistant Hazan at the Spanish-Portuguese synagogue in London. But the applicant was rejected for lack of the language; it apparently never occurred to the stuffy and smug trustees of Bevis Marks that a brilliant linguist 22 years old could also acquire English. Sabato returned to Livorno, but was recalled the following year to London for the position of Hebrew master of the Orphans School, which belonged to the same congregation.

Saboto spent five years in England. It was a fruitful period that prepared him for a distinguished career across the ocean. He mastered English and imbibed its culture and ethos, at the same time moving in the circle of Joseph Mazzini and his compatriots, all of whom were planning the Italian Risorgimento. Then occurred the vacancy at Mikveh Israel, the renowned Sephardic Synagogue of Philadelphia, rededicated while the Revolutionary War was still on. Congregational politics had forced the resignation of Isaac Leeser, the doughty leader of traditional Judaism. Friends urged the modest and retiring Hebrew teacher in London to apply for the Philadelphia position of Hazan and preacher. Encouraged by the answer, he hazarded a journey across the Atlantic. The tall, dignified scholar, soft spoken, bearded, with deep-set, earnest eyes made a profound impression. Favored above the other applicants, he was elected in 1851 and served for the remainder of his life.

The conflicts between minister and trustees that forced out Leeser

also plagued his successor. But the gentle, saintly preacher, apparently humble and pliant, could fight with prophetic zeal when confronted by an issue of principle. Deeply moved by the farcical baptism and abduction of Edgar Mortara in Italy, he was disgusted when James Buchanan would not intercede with the Pope. Sabato Morais refused to recite the prayer on Sabbath for the President, despite the protests of the governing *junta*. On the slavery question he took a strong Abolitionist stand, ignoring the commands of prominent laymen that he preach solely on religious topics. The friend of Mazzini and son of the patriot who suffered prison for political principles refused to be silent where human bondage was involved. During the Civil War the exasperated pro-Southern sympathizers in the congregation managed to curtail his rights to deliver sermons. The Minister no doubt felt encouraged when the aristocratic Union League Club made him an honorary member in recognition of his courageous stand. At a dark moment in the war, his sermon and prayer were so moving that Abraham Hart, president of the congregation, sent a copy to Lincoln. The President thanked him by letter.

During the ministry of Morais a struggle more far-reaching than the authority of lay leadership over the rabbinate raged in the synagogue. The growing Reform movement threatened for a time to engulf the established Orthodoxy. The progressive rabbis trained in German seminaries were militantly advocating reform and completely overshadowing the Orthodox reverends, without Jewish learning or modern education. With the passing of Isaac Leeser, Morris J. Raphall and S. M. Isaacs, Orthodox leadership devolved upon Sabato Morais. He needed all his steadfastness to stem the tide that was sweeping all American Jewry into the maelstrom of Reform. While no gigantic figure possessed of spiritual gifts of the highest order, he did exert extraordinary influence with his genuine convictions, earnest intentions, fervent enthusiasm and saintly character that inspired reverence and love. The best indication of his effectiveness can be surmised from the impression he made upon such

outstanding Philadelphians as Hyman Gratz, Moses Aaron Dropsie, Isaac Husik, Cyrus Adler and Mayer Sulzberger. They never wavered in their loyalty or affection. It is largely due to the personality and zeal of Sabato Morais that Philadelphia, the old citadel of traditional Judaism, remained largely in the Orthodox camp throughout the second half of the 19th century.

Along with other spiritual leaders, Morais felt the great need of a seminary to train rabbis and teachers. Therefore he gave full support to Isaac Leeser in forming Maimonides College, the first school for advanced Jewish studies in the Western Hemisphere. He held the chair of Biblical Literature, but the institution did not survive Leeser's death very long. Two years after its close, Isaac M. Wise started the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. Morais gave the new school his moral support and acted as its official examiner. Fundamentally a liberal influenced by the ideal of academic freedom then existing in Europe, he felt that all knowledge was valuable when disseminated without sectarian bias; he therefore saw no reason why a seminary under Reform auspices could not instruct students for the Orthodox rabbinate. But when the Reform rabbis met in 1885 and drafted the Pittsburgh Program, Morais realized the extent of the cleavage between the two factions of Judaism. Could prospective rabbis retain their piety if exposed to professors who rejected the Messiah, the Sabbath, the Talmud, the divine promulgation of the Torah? Morais severed all relations with the Hebrew Union College.

Basically Sabato Morais was orthodox. But his tradition, originally Sephardic and nurtured in Italy, differed somewhat from the Talmudic fundamentalism rigidly practiced in Poland and Lithuania. It is difficult to analyze or formulate the difference. Yet a rabbi out of Eastern Europe would in 1875 hardly have given moral support or cooperation to Wise's Hebrew Union College. Sometimes a symbol reveals more than a thesis. For instance, the picture of Sabato Morais shows him bareheaded. But Rabbi Jacob Joseph, brought over from Vilna in 1888 to become the only Chief Rabbi New York ever had, wears a *yarmulka*. These slight differences take on a sig-

nificance in tracing the origins of Conservative Judaism, which begins with Sabato Morais.

The Pittsburgh Program carried with it the challenge of warfare. It closed ranks to defend its declaration of Reform principles, yet it also sounded an aggressive note. Capture of the Orthodox ramparts weakly manned by incompetent leaders might not prove difficult. Sabato Morais sensed the challenge. Weakness was apparent in the lack of synagogal organization within the Orthodox fold. But a greater hazard lay in the absence of a school for advanced studies to train American rabbis in Orthodox tenets. Such a seminary would be a fortress for defending the traditions of historical Judaism as ordained in the Torah and interpreted by the sages of the Talmud. Of course, Morais could not forget his own participation in Maimonides College for these very purposes. After teaching there for six years, he witnessed its dissolution. But the Prophets of ancient Israel never permitted discouragement. Conditions were changing and perhaps Philadelphia was not the proper place. The rate of immigration promised to develop a vast Jewish community. Another college must be created and this time in New York now the undisputed center of American Judaism.

Singly no one can organize a college. The badly needed support came from America's oldest congregation, Shearith Israel of New York. With the assistance of its minister, H. Pereira Mendes, the Jewish Theological Seminary Association was launched by Sabato Morais in the vestry of the synagogue on January 2, 1887. It was but a modest affair. Yet out of this acorn grew a mighty oak. During the last ten years of his life Morais devoted time and energy both as president of the faculty and professor of Bible. When he died it seemed as if this school would go the way of Maimonides College after the death of Leeser. But fortunately a compelling personality and scholar of *gaonic* dimensions stepped into the vacancy. Under Solomon Schechter the college was reorganized, incorporated and named the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. With a $500,000 endowment fund and a suitable building presented by Jacob H. Schiff, it forged ahead. With the years came bequests, gifts, dona-

tions of priceless book collections, a museum, until now the Seminary ranks as one of the world's foremost institutions of higher Jewish learning.

The college that Sabato Morais initiated and fostered functions as more than a mere training school. The Seminary is, of course, a great institution of learning that harbors the most valuable and extensive of all Jewish libraries. Yet even more significant is its role as the center, the inspiration, the oracle, the power house of that form of Judaism inadequately labeled the *Conservative Movement.* Actually it is neither conservative nor a movement. The very name is a misnomer, since conservatism is a more correct description of orthodoxy—meaning the true faith. Sabato Morais is generally regarded as its founder. In truth no one ever planned, organized, formulated or indoctrinated Conservative Judaism. It was inevitable that this expression of traditional practice would arise of its own accord.

Orthodoxy, the hoary refuge for two millennia, was transported intact from its European moorings. But the prescripts of the Talmudic code, satisfying and even stimulating in the Ghetto, proved too onerous for the free life in the American milieu. The rigidity of the *Shulchan Aruch* led to the reaction expressed in the Reform movement, organized and propagandized by radical rabbis, and appealing to old stock Americans or to the more recent arrivals from Germany. Reform might have achieved a total victory but for the vast immigration out of Eastern Europe. The destitute newcomers felt at home in the accustomed grooves of Orthodoxy. Their offspring, exposed to the same disintegrating forces that formerly had modified the older residents, relaxed from the strict piety prevalent in the Old Country. Yet the great bulk remained in the parental environment. Some might have defected to the Reform camp had they met welcome, or even encouragement. But at the close of the century, Reform catered to the assimilated Americanized strata, the economically assured, or the stock of German extraction.

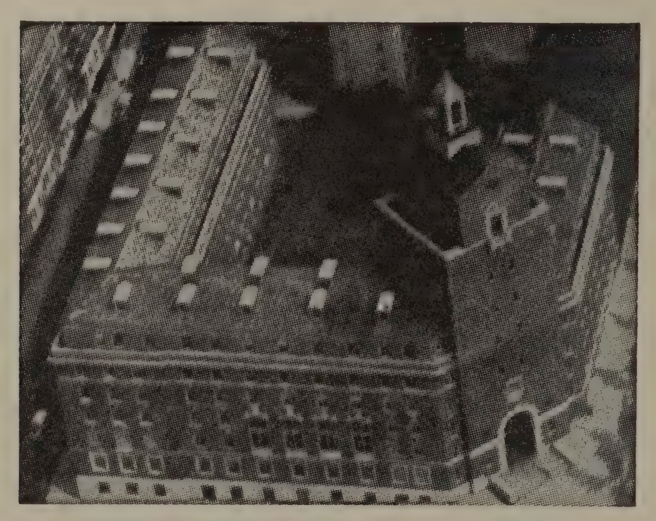
The generation emerging out of immigrant proletarian status became Americanized and adjusted. Many entered business or the professions. The majority were either making a living or comfortable.

They could speak Yiddish but preferred English and modern living. The strict orthodoxy brought over from Europe no longer attracted. Yet on entering a Temple they were repelled by barehead worshipping, by the organ with a mixed choir partly Gentile, the dearth of Hebrew, the absence of congregational praying, the Protestant atmosphere. Actually they were more deeply attached to the old customs than they realized or would admit. Yet Reform did exert an influence. Repetitious prayers might be eliminated, a sermon in English does enhance the service, decorum refines and elevates it. What harm could result from sitting with one's wife in a family pew? Couldn't harmless changes be introduced without sacrificing yahrzeit, matzos, fasting on Yom Kippur, being called up to the Torah, wearing a skull cap with a tallith? There was little trouble in buying meat from a kosher butcher. The beneficial reforms could be realized by a majority congregational vote. But where could the modern, English-speaking rabbi be found? The Jewish Theological Seminary of America soon supplied the demand.

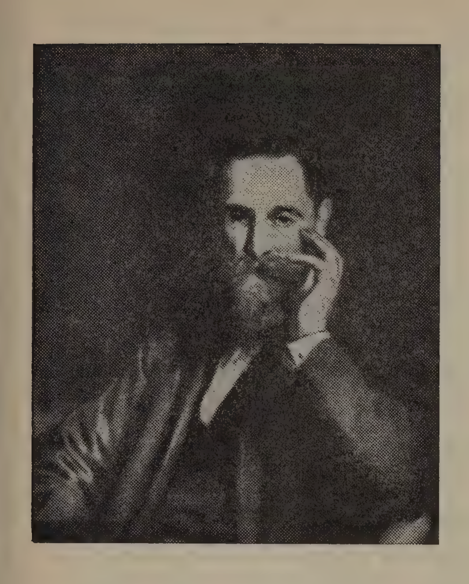
And here the importance of Sabato Morais' labors becomes evident. By organizing the Seminary, he started a chain reaction that reverberated far and wide. Its graduates introduced and established Conservative Judaism in many synagogues that were Orthodox. The Jewish Center idea, combining religious, educational and social activities and a by-product of Seminary thinking, spread throughout the land and beyond. When the number of Conservative congregations warranted it, they organized themselves into the United Synagogue of America. Earlier their rabbis had formed the Rabbinical Assembly of America. This triad constitutes a powerful factor in world Judaism. Some see in it the dominating force of the future, at home and abroad. Sabato Morais can be designated the founder of Conservative Judaism in that he launched the Seminary which became the dyamo that propelled its movement.

Theologians, more learned and original, have succeeded Morais. Yet it is remarkable how his spiritual and intellectual personality continues to permeate the Seminary and Conservative thinking. In his work Morais brought to bear the traditional tenets of his Italian

birth place, and they remained unaltered despite a long residence in a new and changing world. This Liberal Orthodoxy countenanced reforms as long as the changes retained the original Biblical and Talmudic character. In forming the Seminary he avoided both extremes: the exclusiveness of the Yeshiva and the universalism of the Hebrew Union College. Neither Morais nor his successors ever succeeded in defining the principles or doctrines that distinguish the Conservative credo from the Orthodox. Its significant feature is that notwithstanding the conflicting tendencies of our times towards authoritarian dogmatism on the one side and a pallid sceptical liberalism on the other, Conservative ideology retains the historic attitudes of basic Judaism including its ceremonies, its practices, its ritual, its nationalistic yearnings. All of which may account for its ever growing mass appeal. In any event, the impress of Sabato Morais upon American Judaism has been considerable and wholesome.



JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA.



1888

JOSEPH PULITZER

Half-Jewish Crusader

When does one cease being a Jew? The question as to whether Jews are a religious or ethnic group is not without its complexities. One ceases to be a Christian if he turns Mohammedan. Yet does a Swede, Spaniard, Pole or Scotsman who embraces Islam ever become an Arab even when he settles in Iraq or Jordan? Then what is the racial stock of one born of Jewish and German parentage? The Nazis solved this problem with a gas chamber followed by the crematorium.

In his biography, *Joseph Pulitzer,* Don C. Seitz states; "His father, Philip Pulitzer was of Magyar-Jewish descent; his mother, Louise Berger, Austro-German." The author probably got the information from Joseph himself, who contrary to his passion for accuracy preferred to remain vague in the matter of ancestry. Philip was hardly of Magyar stock. In the early 19th century, Jews in Hungary lived apart, separated by walls that were religious, social, political and what not. While the Revolution of 1848 modified this separation somewhat, the Pulitzers evidently moved in a Jewish environment. This can be inferred from the action of Joseph's mother, a devout

Roman Catholic. The handsome German widow soon married another Jew, Max Blau.

Never an easy mixer, Joseph apparently did not get along with his step-father. The adolescent youth dreamed of military glory, influenced no doubt by his maternal uncles, who to him were glamorous officers in the Austrian army. But at 17, Joseph shot up to 6 ft. 2½ in., a gangling, awkward stringbean with weak eyes and an oversized nose. Nature seemed to have set apart this gauche scraggy pole with a large head and features out of all proportion to become a butt for the coarse fun of practical jokers. He applied to the Austrian army and was rejected officially for "weak eyes—unpromising physique." He met a similar answer from the French Foreign Legion that was being assembled to help Maximilian hold down the throne in Mexico. He then tried to enlist with the British for service in India but met with the same rebuff. When applying for a seaman's job in the port of Hamburg, he was laughed out of the hiring hall.

But fate is not to be sidetracked. In Hamburg, Joseph met one of those American agents seeking recruits for the Union Army. The Civil War was on, and draftees were hiring substitutes for as much as $500, which the agents often pocketed. Here was a marvelous opportunity for a free ride across the ocean. Joseph's maddening habit of quizzing anyone he met did not add to his popularity but elicited valuable information. On the boat he heard about agents keeping the money due the substitutes. How could he obtain this bounty he was entitled to? The story goes that he jumped overboard in Boston harbor, made his way to New York, and circulated among the recruiting booths for the best deal he could make. In any event, Joseph "Pouletzes," as the sergeant put down the name, enlisted in September 1864.

The romance of military life faded quickly. The "skinny guy with the big nose" became the laughing stock of the whole company and had to take the badgering, the buffeting, the hazing, the tormenting without a murmur. Not that the rooky cavalryman made things easier for himself. His constant griping in broken English about

food, clothing, discipline, horses, invited much of the merriment. The worst offense lay in his perennial questions, to which he almost invariably received wrong or misleading answers. Goaded on one occasion to the breaking point, the gawky private struck a non-commissioned officer in the face. This was a serious offense that merited a court martial. He was saved however by a captain who appreciated the chess playing of the strange lad. The agony ended when he was mustered out in July 1865.

New York was full of discharged veterans looking for work. Among the least successful of the job hunters was Joseph Pultizer with a slight knowledge of English and near the end of his rope. A petty incident left a scar that was never effaced. He stopped for a shoe shine at French's Hotel lobby and was refused because of his shabby clothes. His army overcoat had been stolen. He decided to go inland and inquired about a city that contained no Germans. As a hoax, the quizee suggested St. Louis, which probably had more Germans proportionately than any American city. How he got there is anybody's conjecture. Perhaps he hopped a freight train "on the rods," the familiar transportation of hoboes, then quite numerous.

Joseph Pulitzer had a vigorous mind of unusual clarity. Yet his desire to avoid Germans is not quite intelligible. Of course he wished to master the English language. But contact with foreigners was no impediment towards Americanization, as proved by the integration of countless aliens. Perhaps his unfortunate experience in the Army made them repellent. He had enlisted in a company made up largely of German immigrants, organized by the immigrant Carl Schurz, who became a Major-General. These Germans brought with them the Judeophobia indigenous to the Fatherland. To them he was a Jew, regardless of the excellent German he spoke, and the unusual humiliations heaped upon him probably stemmed from their native anti-Semitism. This may also account for his shying away from Jews. An agnostic, religion was to Pulitzer meaningless and foreign. Then why have contact with a minority that brought him so much unhappiness?

On reaching East St. Louis, a river had to be crossed. A ferry

boat came chugging to its bank and passengers had to pay for their transportation. Joseph did not have a cent left after selling his fine silk handkerchief for 75 cents to buy food. But German came in handy when he heard two of the deck hands talking. Their help enabled him to cross the river by shovelling coal into the furnace upon the open deck on a night of snow and sleet; his back was freezing while his face caught the fiery blasts. In St. Louis he followed a series of the meanest occupations to hold body and soul together. The future publisher was respectively a coachman, waiter in a restaurant, stevedore, freight-handler and man-of-all-work. During a cholera epidemic he dug graves and buried the dead. His only pleasure was reading in bed, and when unoccupied he was the first to enter the public library and the last to leave. Such a life was enough to break the spirit of any proud youth, but a Russian poet has written, "The hammer shivers glass, but iron is forged by its blows."

Life's greatest fascination lies perhaps in the unaccountable change of luck. When things look blackest, a petty incident might turn fortune's wheel that propels one to fame or wealth. Such was the assignment to an obscure 26-year-old officer named Bonaparte, who trained some guns upon a Parisian mob. Joseph Pulitzer stands watching a chess game in the Mercantile Library between Carl Schurz and an associate. The youth of 21 criticises a move by one of St. Louis's best editors, who thereupon tells him to finish the game if he can do better. Joseph sits down and wins. Schurz offers him a reporter's job on his German paper. A chance remark thus lands a seeming nobody on the track that would lead, within two decades, to the most influential place among American newspapers.

It was no easy transition. As in the Army "Joey" became the favorite victim for the razzing and joshing of fellow news hawks who regarded themselves as belonging to a caste superior to reporters on German papers. Hanging around saloons and getting their stories from the police, they resented this hard-working, "eccentric long drink of water" who rushed to the scene for information. To mislead him they would send him on a wild goose chase, but the delving inquisitor from the *Westliche Post* brought back stories, often better

than what he went for. His reputation spread until the city editor of the *St. Louis Democrat* posted a directive on the bulletin for his staff to use up less time harassing German reporters and more energy competing with them.

The German paper sent its ace to cover the Missouri Legislature. He unearthed some unsavory doings at the state capital. While reporting the Republican State Convention, death created a vacancy in the General Assembly. The district was strongly Democrat and never elected any other candidate. As a joke the convention nominated Joey Pulitzer. He did not see the humor and won the Legislative seat after a vigorous campaign to clean up municipal corruption. At the session he introduced a bill to abolish the St. Louis County Court, a nest of political grafters. Foremost in the ring was a Captain Edward Augustine, the Supervisor of Registration, who had just been awarded a million dollar contract to build an insane asylum. Augustine publicly called the fledgling legislator a damned liar. Joey went for a gun, shot the 250 pound lobbyist in the leg, and received a fine of $100 plus court costs of $400, which his friends paid. The incident centered public attention on the issue he raised. The County Court was abolished and Augustine's contract for the asylum was cancelled.

At 25 Joseph Pulitzer was already a man of consequence. He had helped Carl Schurz organize the Liberal Republican Party and took part in the convention that nominated Horace Greeley for President. With the re-election of Grant, the owners of the *Westliche Post* felt shaken and sold a part to Joseph on easy terms. Immediately he began transforming the paper to the alarm of the other owners, who no doubt felt that the State which harbored a Jesse James was not ready for a crusading journal. When offered $30,000 for the stock, he accepted with alacrity and took a trip to Europe, visiting his family and travelling in the style of a wealthy tourist. On his return, he attended a bankruptcy sale and bought a German newspaper "for a song," to use his own expression. It had an Associated Press franchise, which he immediately sold for $20,000.

By this time, his tall thin figure had filled out. An imposing red

beard gave his head and features a better proportion. He actually took on a commanding and distinguished personality. Now he could waltz at balls with the beauties of St. Louis. He had been reading law and was admitted to the Bar of the District of Columbia where he ventured into law practice. In Washington he met a Southern lady of high social rank, a distant relative of the ex-president of the Confederacy. Joseph Pulitzer and Kate Davis were married in 1878 in the Protestant Episcopal Church. In Europe the 31 year old honeymooner wrote several articles for the *New York Sun* and prophesied another war between France and Germany. The newlyweds returned to St. Louis where friends strongly urged him to relinquish the law and devote his talents to the more suitable career of journalism.

The *St. Louis Dispatch* had been dying for 15 years and finally expired. At a sheriff's sale, Pulitzer bought the corpse for $2500. The only asset of value was an Associated Press membership encumbered with a $30,000 mortgage. Of his $50,000 profits Pulitzer had but $2700 left with which to revive the dead paper and pay family living expenses. John A. Dillon of the *Post* listened to his proposal to merge the two papers, laughed and declared that the AP certificate, strangling with its big lien, was worthless. But Pulitzer, not easily discouraged, met with the AP directors and obtained their ruling that the mortgage against a membership was invalid. The *Post-Dispatch* began operating under Pulitzer's sole direction. Success came immediately. The new venture began to pay before the $2700 ran out and became a leading daily in the West. Four years later in 1881, it earned $85,000 and Pulitzer's profits were $45,000. Today, after the Biblical span of fourscore years, the *Post-Dispatch* is still flourishing as one of the influential papers in the nation.

Its success may in part be attributed to Pulitzer's announced creed: "The *Post and Dispatch* will serve no party but the people; will be no organ of Republicanism, but the organ of truth; will follow no causes but its conclusions; will not support the Administration but criticise it; will oppose all frauds and shams wherever and whatever

they are; will advocate principles and ideas rather than prejudices and partisanship."

But something more than a platform is required for a bankrupt paper to become a powerful journal. And that something Pulitzer had within himself. From early morning to midnight he worked unceasingly overseeing every detail. He declared war upon gamblers, shady politicians and public frauds. He exposed tax dodgers, contrasting the payments of the wealthy with those of the poor. He started crusades that plain people approved. The interests of the common man he protected from the depredations of the streetcar and utility companies.

Crusading was not without its hazards. One day a lawyer walked into the paper's office, resentful of some article published. The editor, Col. John A. Cockerill, expecting to be attacked, drew a gun and fired. The lawyer fell and died. The public felt outraged, especially since Cockerill was not even brought to trial. Resentment against the *Post-Dispatch*, its editor and its owner, made Pulitzer feel that he was no longer a *persona grata*. Overwork and nervous tension were undermining his health and physicians prescribed a lengthy vacation.

The Pultizers reached New York to take a boat for Europe. Told of a newspaper for sale, the St. Louis publisher called on Jay Gould, who operated the *New York World* at a loss to promote his stock manipulations. Before the interview was over, the notorious financial buccaneer sold his paper to Pulitzer for $346,000, payable in installments, a highly overpriced figure in the opinion of competent newspaper men. Pulitzer forgot about his health, remained in New York, took personal charge of the *World* and reached the top in American journalism.

The sudden perpendicular rise of the *World* was without precedent in the history of journalism. One year after its purchase in 1883 from Jay Gould, circulation jumped tenfold and three years later the paper earned $500,000. Needless to say, Pulitzer displayed extraordinary capacity, courage and originality in its management.

His opening 10-point program immediately attracted the masses. Its five planks called for taxation of luxuries, of inheritances, of large incomes, of monopolies, of privileged corporations. The last five asked a tariff for revenue; reform of the civil service; punishment of corrupt officials; punishment for vote buying; punishment for employers who coerced their employees in elections.

The experience in building up the *Post-Dispatch* in St. Louis proved invaluable for the *World* in New York. If Pulitzer's methods could be reduced to a system, its rules might be: get the news correctly and if possible ahead of competitors; present the news accurately, tersely and vividly in language understood by everyone; lead in the interpretation of significant news so as to mold public opinion; seek the welfare of all the people and never join parties or groups, sections or classes, except in the public interest.

To obtain phenomenal results, unorthodox methods had to be tried. Pulitzer's innovations affected journalism in America and abroad. Headlines were enlarged until they virtually screamed. Few stunts were overlooked, not even comic strips in color for the Sunday edition. Clever cartoons and sketches continued the tradition of Thomas Nast. Pictures illustrated what long stories featured. Sensationalism was exploited especially in reporting crime. In 1887 Pulitzer expanded his domain by founding the *Evening World,* a popular money-maker which in no way competed with his morning paper.

The *World*'s rise in circulation and power coincided with the decline of long-established dailies. Pulitzer could not escape their resentment. Conflict was inevitable and war erupted with Charles A. Dana, of the *Sun*, during a relatively unimportant election of district attorney. There followed a campaign of slander and scurrility, perhaps the rankest in American newspaper annals. Pulitzer would not be deflected from the issue of corruption in high places and urging the election of a competent fearless prosecutor. Dana resorted to religious hate seldom overlooked by unscrupulous Gentiles in conflict with Jewish opponents. He took full advantage of Jewish dislike of a fellow-Jew who denies or seeks to escape his extraction. But

he went much further in assailing *Judas Iscariot* Pulitzer, the renegade Jew whose "face is repulsive, not because the physiognomy is Hebraic, but because it is Pulitzeresque . . . cunning, malice, falseness, treachery, dishonesty, greed, and venal self-abasement have stamped their unmistakable traits . . . no art can eradicate them." Dana identifies his enemy with that weird medieval creation, The Wandering Jew, and hopes inscrutable Providence would soon issue his dreadful command: "Move on, Pulitzer, move on!"

Pulitzer's muck raking is not the language of restraint either. He refers to Charles *Ananias* Dana as "an unmitigated scoundrel and actuated by a hatred which amounts to insanity . . . an assaulter of women and a mortgaged broken down calumniator in the last agonies of humiliation . . . a mendacious blackguard who, not content with four months of virulent lying about a candidate for the Presidency, has insidiously attacked his wife and sister; who has sought to annoy the widow of General Grant, and who has polluted the grave of Henry Ward Beecher to gratify his personal hatred, is capable of any distortion." But far more galling than all the rancorous vilifications were Pulitzer's jibes: "the broken and humiliated editor of the *Sun* . . . in four years . . . has seen the circulation of his paper dwindle; his income swept away. He has seen a mortgage for $175,000 placed upon a property which once yielded monthly dividends of ten percent . . . *The World* is stronger and better than it ever was. Its circulation *is three times that of the Sun* and its influence is in proportion."

Dana's hope was realized sooner than anticipated. Excitement sustained Pulitzer during the hectic mud-spattering campaign and kept in abeyance the damage to his deteriorating health. One day he picked up some proofs and couldn't read a line. The doctor ordered him to bed for six weeks in a darkened room. His eyes were soon to go stone blind. The physical and psychological ravages in his younger days told upon a constitution that was never robust. Racked by various pains he suffered acutely from any kind of noise. For the next 24 years he lived on his yacht, *Liberty,* attended by a corps of

secretaries. Pulitzer actually became *The Wandering Jew* of legend. Never remaining in one place for more than several weeks, he constantly moved over the globe seeking for health in vain.

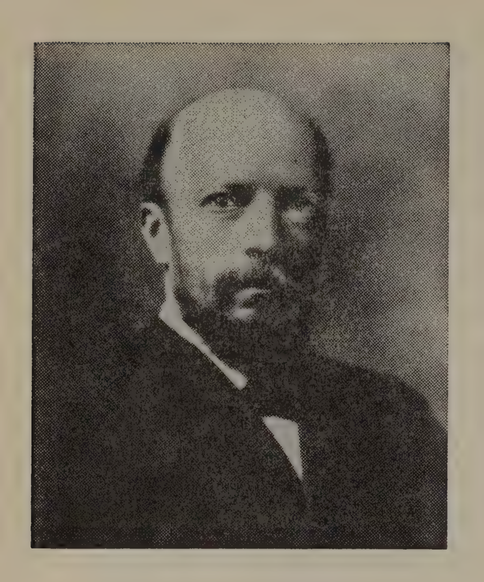
From the house-boat that sailed the Seven Seas, the blind Pulitzer, now a complete nervous wreck, continued to direct the affairs and dictate the policies of his powerful, flourishing dailies. But from the Far West came William Randolph Hearst, a rival more formidable, resourceful and challenging than Charles Dana could ever be. The contest for supremacy between the two newspaper titans carried "yellow journalism" to its muck-peak. Spanish cruelty to the Cubans provided the spur for each paper to outdo the other in sensational demagogery. In their rivalry to attract the largest circulation Pulitzer and Hearst brought on the Spanish-American War, an exploit without parallel in journalism.

The term *yellow journalism* has an evil connotation and Pulitzer is generally identified with its initiation. Yet when a public trend takes hold there is usually some basis for its inception. The sensational press arose during that era of uninhibited exploitation by "malefactors of great wealth" whose attitude was crisply, perhaps unintentially, summed up in Vanderbilt's phrase, "the public be damned." Some curbs were necessary to protect the public from damnation before Federal legislation attempted to restrict the "Robber Barons" with such measures as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Muck-raking thus fulfilled its function and died out when no longer essential.

Yet Pulitzer was no mere muck-raker, though for a time he utilized sensational methods fully. Before the close of the century he drew in his horns and toned down all "yellow press" tactics. The *World* became a well-informed journal with a remarkably intelligent editorial page, internationally oriented, a champion of free speech and individual liberty, an enemy of imperialism, jingoism, class privilege and the money power. It carried on a relentless fight against political corruption, Prohibition, Tammany Hall, excessive armaments, without fear of, or favor to, advertising tycoons. Before Pulitzer's death in 1911, the morning *World* had a circulation of

300,000, the *Evening World* of 400,000, the Sunday edition of 600,000. It would be impossible to estimate the influence of Joseph Pulitzer upon American life.

His sons had neither the desire nor the drive to carry on and consequently in 1931 sold their papers in New York to Scripps-Howard. Today the name of the famous newspaper survives on the mast-head of the *New York World-Telegram*. But the memory of the most remarkable figure in American journalism is preserved in the bequests of Joseph Pulitzer's $20,000,000 will. He devised $2,000-000 for a School of Journalism at Columbia University and left various amounts and scholarships "for the encouragement of public service, public morals, American Literature and the advancement of education." Sums are distributed in five distinct fields for the best work done by American journalists during each year. Prizes are awarded annually for the best American drama and novel, for the best books on history, poetry and biography by American authors.



1889

FELIX ADLER

Founder of Ethical Culture

SELDOM DID a rabbinical career seem more assured for a young man than it was for Felix Adler. Born virtually in the synagogue, the six year old descendant of rabbis came in 1857 to New York with his father. Samuel Adler was active in the German Reform movement when imported to the pulpit of Temple Emanu-El, the Moorish-Romanesque cathedral on 5th Avenue and 43rd Street.

Graduated from Columbia College, Felix needed more specialized knowledge of Judaism to qualify as his father's successor to the most influential rabbinical post in America. Maimonides College of Philadelphia leaned towards Orthodoxy, the Hebrew Union College had not yet opened in Cincinnati, and no institution for Reform Judaism existed in the Western Hemisphere. Some trustees of Emanu-El had established a Fellowship which enabled Felix to continue his studies at the famed Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums of Berlin. He also completed some courses in philosophy at Heidelberg and obtained a doctorate in his 23rd year.

It had been a foregone conclusion that the brilliant young graduate would succeed his father. The congregants who came to hear

the trial sermon were removed from piety; nor were they given to detect fine points in theology. It was a centrifugal period for Reform, with the emphasis on radical variance from traditional doctrine. Yet most of the audience were repelled by the extremely modern conception of religion expounded by young Felix. Somehow they received an impression that prayer, worship, creed, tenets, faith and reverence for hoary Judaism belonged to the outmoded past. Not once did the young rabbi mention the God of Israel; in fact, some of the auditors sensed in the sermon that Adonoi Elohim of the Torah did not really preside over the Universe nor direct the affairs of men.

The trustees decided not to recommend their protégé for the post. Evidently Felix Adler was not disappointed. Not so his father. Samuel Adler, leader in American Reform Judaism, must have recalled the heartaches he caused his own Orthodox father, the devout Dayan (Rabbinical Judge) at Worms, who probably urged the usual objections of the Orthodox: once reforms began whittling away at the Talmudic fortress they would end with the complete negation of Judaism.

And this is exactly what happened. Felix Adler abandoned Judaism. Yet he did not forsake the ancestral faith in any vengeful spirit. Nor did he harbor the malice that usually corrodes the *meshumed's* heart. He continued to maintain the most affectionate relations with his father and drew his friends or associates largely from Jewish circles. Without the soul struggle or guilt complex that plagued Paul the Apostle, Felix Adler formulated a system for life and conduct that grew out of the ethics, the principles, the morality of his ancestral faith as enunciated by the Prophets of the Old Testament.

When Adler returned from Europe, his boyhood companions greeted him as Felix. But the 22 year old *savant* declared that he wished to be addressed as *Doctor* Adler. This might sound priggish to non-German ears. Yet his friends were not offended. There was something in his demeanor that repulsed camaraderie. His inverted look, his faraway gaze and concentrated seriousness immediately proclaimed the thinker who was spinning out a philosophic system.

In Germany he had been exposed to the findings of the Higher Criticism which demolished belief in the Divine Revelation on Sinai. In his day Darwin's thesis that humanity had evolved from lower forms of life, perhaps from the amoeba, shattered the belief in the creation of man as set forth in Genesis. All laws and institutions became human developments, and morality itself beginning with primitive man had struggled slowly and painfully in its upward growth. In a Democratic, egalitarian age it seemed absurd for any nation to set itself apart as the Chosen People.

The mixed reception to his sermon at Emanu-El demonstrated two propositions: (1) that he could not express his advanced ideas on any pulpit, even of the most radical synagogue of America; (2) that people who were attracted by his address might be ready for a new persuasion. But at twenty-two it is difficult to command the necessary authority. Besides, one had to earn a living. So Felix Adler accepted the professorship of Hebrew and Oriental literature at the liberal university founded by Ezra Cornell.

In Ithaca he further clarified his thinking about religion and life. No longer did there exist for him any evidence that justified belief in a personal God who created the world and all life therein. The most advanced being that man knows is man himself. In spite of his limitations, shortcomings or failures, man possesses latent possibilities for the highest development. With all the evils in human nature, man is basically good and capable of high nobility in thought and conduct. Through the centuries creative men of sensitive soul have discovered certain ethical truths which, if applied, could regulate the lives of all mankind along the paths of justice and righteousness and lead to moral and spiritual living.

His views were too radical even for the liberalism of Cornell. After three years at Ithaca, Felix Adler resigned and returned to New York. On May 15, 1876, he addressed a meeting at Standard Hall and founded the New York Society for Ethical Culture while the nation was celebrating the centenary of American freedom. The movement spread and societies were formed in Philadelphia, Chicago, Brooklyn, Westchester, St. Louis, Washington, Los Angeles.

In Europe, ethical societies sprang up in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Switzerland. The British Ethical union received the support of such outstanding liberals as Prime Minister J. Ramsay MacDonald, the economist J. Maynard Keynes, the laborite Lord Harry Snell, the sociologist Graham Wallas, and thinkers such as Henry Sidgwick, Sir Leslie Stephen, Bernard Bosanquet, Sir John Seeley, Susan Stebbin, and John Laird. It is to the credit of the Ethical Movement that it was banned by the Nazis and its leaders imprisoned. Hitler recognized the enemy that constituted an ever present danger to his totalitarian Reich resting on cruelty and terror.

But in spite of the auspicious beginning, the Ethical Movement has made little headway. After four score years its American membership scarcely exceeds 6,000 souls. Yet there is nothing in its principles to which men of good will could object. Ethical Culture invites people of every race, clime or religious affiliation. It offers a moral religion that is without tenet, doctrine or creed. It imposes no sanctions for lapse of faith, for straying from virtuous conduct. It promises no rewards in a blissful paradise nor threatens the sinful with punishment in a *Gehenna*. It enjoins the cultivation of moral excellence as the highest duty of man. Adler set out to improve upon the Golden Rule of the New Testament with his formula: "So act as to elicit the best in others, and by so doing elicit the best in thyself."

Rules of ethical conduct have been prescribed by the higher religions. The founders, however, were not content to allow their application to remain simply a matter of voluntary obedience confined to those virtuous souls who were predisposed towards righteous living. Moses thundered forth dire punishments for those rebellious Sons of the Covenant who ignored the commands and ordinances of a just but stern Jehovah. Christianity has an everlasting Hell prepared for all humans who deny that the blood sacrifice of the Man from Nazareth saved mankind from the original sin committed by Adam and Eve. The Judaic-Christian-Islamic religions of monotheism, by maintaining inflexible descipline over untold millions, appear indestructible after a millennial existence.

Felix Adler tried the opposite method. He discarded prayer, the-

ology, ceremony, ritual, creed, and even belief in a personal Deity. The virtuous must find their reward in ethical practice. His religion demanded no faith other than confidence in the essential goodness of man. In lieu of ceremonial he substituted the gathering of men and women who, after elevating music would listen to the leader discoursing on moral and ethical living. In the assembly of good people rays of light shedding beneficial influences would penetrate each others' minds and spirits. On the wall behind the pulpit of the New York Society for Ethical Culture are emblazoned in large letters "The place where men meet to seek the highest is holy ground." Morality remained the categorical imperative of Dr. Adler, who was spellbound by the majestic dictum of Immanuel Kant: "The starry heavens above us and the moral law within us."

Few can quarrel with ethical religion on so high a moral plane. Yet the response to Adler's call was meager, and from Christians negligible. This raises a curious question. Why are Jews the overwhelming majority of his followers? Are they seeking something new in ethics? Something unknown to their ancestral religion? Those who object to the rigidity of Orthodox doctrine and practice can obtain relief in Reform Judaism, which all but rejects dogma, ritual or ceremony. Prayer in the Temple is virtually confined to the rabbi and choir; the onerous 613 *mitzvos* are abolished. Why forsake Reform which insists on as few beliefs as the Unitarian faith, or makes as little demand as the Ethical Society?

The answer probably lies in the shattering effects on Jewish character when after centuries of oppression and disabilities came emancipation. When science in the 19th century weakened the underpinnings of faith, Judaism lost its hold upon many. Yet the necessity for religion was not obliterated. If Judaism was no longer attractive, Christianity appealed even less. From the Crusades to the Russian pogroms, the cross appeared a swastika to the Jews with active or subconscious nightmares of monks inciting mobs to murder. Catholic, Protestant or Greek Christianity have rendered the word Jew a term of reproach. Conversion seemed an ignominious flight into the camp of the enemy. Christian Science may attract the sick; and

while the Unitarian talks the language of monotheism, the social reception of the Jew remains about the same as among other sectarians. Jews in comfortable circumstances, seeking a comfortable assimilation, could find in the Society for Ethical Culture an escape without a flight. Here they felt at home among the same species as themselves. The small Gentile membership and the larger proportion of Gentile leaders makes the Society sufficiently cosmopolitan. Their children could mix, intermarry and glide more gently into the dominant majority.

At least many thought so. Yet a single incident was quite revealing. About a half century after Dr. Adler founded the Ethical Cultural Society and renounced Judaism, Samuel Gompers died. The prominent labor leader, although his affiliation with Judaism was rather weak, desired a Jewish funeral. Gentile leaders of the American Federation of Labor proposed "Rabbi" Felix Adler as one of the ministers to officiate. Evidently his exclusive lifework of non-Jewish activities did little to impress Christians with the non-Jewish character of Ethical Culture.

If the benefits or significance of Ethical Culture as a religion are questionable, there is little doubt as to the merits of its experimental schools. Felix Adler's importance as educator ranks as high as that of philosopher. When he started the Ethical movement, a financial-industrial depression brought distress to many workers. Concern with the problems of workers caused him to think about the need of cooperation between management and labor. But the school system taught children to look after themselves in a society that stressed the value of individualism in the struggle for success. Dr. Adler considered a harmonious way of living together as of the greatest importance to the future of American industrial civilization. The change that was overdue in the educational process must begin with the children.

In 1878 Felix Adler with the help of friends established the first free kindergarten east of the Mississippi. Circulars distributed in poor neighborhoods brought six boys and two girls to a dance hall on West 64th Street. It soon became apparent that the children got

more fun out of learning and playing together than out of getting into mischief. After the year a first grade had to be provided for them and a new kindergarten class for newcomers. The school grew and five years later the public answered the appeal for a building with $50,000 for the "Workingmen's School." Educators came to observe and to imitate. Many donors reached the conclusion that this school was better for their own children than public or private schools. The mingling of children of different social and economic backgrounds proved beneficial. The increase of pupils was such that the name Workingmen's School no longer applied. In 1895 this name was changed to the present Ethical Culture School.

Other Ethical Society schools arose and began to exercise a beneficial influence upon general American education. Their ideas were utilized and their methods applied. They pioneered in teaching manual training, mechanical crafts, shops for boys, homemaking arts for girls. The first to provide stages for dramatizing literature, history and the sciences, they offered instructions for ethical living without interfering with personal religion. The teachers took students into factories, upon steamboats and locomotives to acquaint them with the industrial world. Recognition came when John D. Rockefeller, Jr. after a thorough investigation contributed through the General Education Board $400,000 to the Ethical Society's education program.

Work in the public interest Dr. Adler regarded as the duty of the Ethical Culturist. His communal activities were far too many to enumerate here. His efforts to promote district nursing antedated the work of Lillian Wald in the Henry Street Settlement. His public addresses deploring the wretched, over-crowded tenements led to the creation of the State Tenement House Commission of which he was a member. One of a Committee of Fifteen to expose corruption in the city government, he labored to elect Seth Low, the reforming Mayor of New York. For 17 years he remained chairman of the National Child Labor Committee. Active as an arbitrator on issues between labor and industry, he was appointed by Mayor Mitchell chairman of a committee which prevented the strike of 60,000 garment workers.

Many honors came to him. In 1902 he became Professor of Political and Social Ethics at Columbia University. Roosevelt Exchange Professor at the University of Berlin in 1908-09, he was Hibbert Lecturer at Oxford in 1923. His honesty and sincerity evoked respect from liberal clergymen of all faiths. He published eight important books and was president of the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association. But the man overshadowed his accomplishments according to James Waterman Wise who wrote:

"But the essential quality of the man, that which makes him a significant and luminous figure, is not to be found in these things. Not in his writings or philosophy, not in the movement he has founded, nor in the words he speaks, but in the man himself, in his *being* the secret must be sought. Some men are not equal to their achievements. Adler's achievements are unequal to himself."

"A personality of spiritual majesty and light, one is awed in his presence; one does him unconscious reverence. A reverence all the more remarkable because his are none of the external attributes of authority. A smallish man, shuffling of gait, insignificant of form. But his eyes are the eyes of a Buddha; his manner that of a seer; his voice vibrant with suppressed passion, the voice of a Delphic Oracle."



BERTHA KALISH.

1890

GOLDFADEN

And the Yiddish Stage

THE LARGE NUMBER of Jewish actors, dramatists, producers and directors in England, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary and the U.S.A. would indicate a natural Jewish flair for the theatre. That this flair became apparent only as late as the 19th century can be explained by the isolation of Jews from European culture ever since Constantine proclaimed Christianity the religion of the Roman Empire. Actually the impulse was there all along, even in Biblical times. The Book of Esther with its heroine and arch-villain reveals a high sense of drama. The Canticles of Solomon appear to have been sung in recitative, in dialogue and chorus. In Alexandria the poet Ezechielos wrote Jewish tragedies in Greek and a drama on the life of Moses. We learn that the Jewish actor, Alityrus, was a great favorite of Nero and the Empress Poppaea. The Roman poet Martial mentions Faustina, a Jewish actress well known in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

After the Roman Empire cracked there were up to the Renaissance few theatrical productions in Europe other than religious or miracle plays. These were paralleled in Jewish life by Purim plays, the dramatization of the Joseph story and other Biblical subjects. For several

centuries before the Emancipation era, Jewish living was brightened by wandering troupes of actors and singers, by jugglers, clowns and the *ad lib* minstrel (badchan) improvising his rhymes at weddings. Thus the great French-Jewish actresses Rachel, Judith and Sarah Bernhardt, or the superlative 19th century prima donnas, Pasta and Grisi, carried on perhaps unconsciously the acting and singing traditions of the Ghettos in Central Europe.

In the vast Yiddish-speaking Pale of Eastern Europe no secular schools existed before the Haskalah began to advocate modern culture to correct the one-sided religious education. The pious Yeshivos regarded anything that savored of the stage as leading to immorality. No circles existed to sponsor a "profane" theatre. Yet plays were written in Yiddish and occasionally acted. The improvised actors were drawn largely from the choristers assisting the cantor in the synagogue service. These impoverished choir-singers constituted a class that resembled the Gentile bohemians frequenting the "Latin Quarters" inhabited by artists. Impudent and often hungry, they nourished mild groudges against the well-fed *baale batim* (bourgeoisie) and felt secret scorn towards the respectable, musically uncomprehending "yold." They compensated by regarding themselves an elite with musical gifts. Amoral, unconventional and not without talents, they were the raw material out of which an acting fraternity could be fashioned.

It was 1863, a hopeful period in Russia, two years after Czar Alexander II liberated the serfs. A youthful group in the fair-sized city of Zhitomir decided to stage the drama *Serkele*, written in Yiddish about the year 1825. Other than its language, the play has nothing distinctively Jewish about it. A widow claims that her wealthy brother died on a business trip abroad and produces a forged will making her the sole heir. She promotes her own daughter's prospects and ill treats the daughter of her absent brother, a Cinderella character. One day the brother returns and all wrongs are righted with a happy ending when his daughter marries the eligible medical student of her choice. The would-be actors were in a dilemma about the leading role. No decent woman in Russian Jewry would stake

her reputation to appear on the stage. The choir singers appealed to a 23-year-old theological student attending the Zhitomir Rabinnical Seminary. Neither the audience nor anyone else had the slightest inkling that the good looking youth, Abraham Goldfaden, who impersonated Serkele, would some day inaugurate the Yiddish theatre.

In a Southern hamlet, Abraham Goldfaden grew up close to nature, to the Russian countryside. Able to absorb general education with the assistance of his father, a learned watchmaker, he attended the seminary at Zhitomir for the learning traditional in Eastern Europe. Before graduating at 26, he published verses in Hebrew entitled *Blossoms and Flowers*, and in the following year, 1866, appeared his *Yiddele*, a collection of Yiddish poems charged with much deeper Jewish emotions than the first. While not a great poet, he was saturated with the history, folklore and sufferings of his people. His lyrics set to music of his own composition, appealed to a people who felt in this lilting language and these touching melodies their deepest sorrows, their fervent hopes and simple piety.

Struggles within Russian Jewry were preparing the ground for the theatre. The Maskilim, regarding themselves as warriors on behalf of enlightenment, were striving with might and main to dissipate the obscurantist mist which, they contended, enveloped the Jewish masses with medieval bigotry. These "sons of light" were utilizing every possible weapon from literature to modern clothes, from schools to sermons, in their effort to break the chains that riveted the Hassidim to a peculiar, outmoded fanaticism which enjoined wearing outlandish garb and forbade shearing the corkscrew curls dangling over their ears. Goldfaden was in accord with the Maskilim, even he did not share their vindictiveness. But he also believed that the devastating power of ridicule through the media of exciting drama would carry the message of reason and sanity far more effectively than lecturing.

After attempting to teach in various schools, Goldfaden founded two Yiddish weeklies in Galicia. But his heart was in the theatre and he used his spare time for writing plays. In 1876 he found himself in Roumania. Sitting in a wine cellar tavern, he met two enter-

tainers and decided then and there to stage his comedy, *Recruits*. In staging plays, Goldfaden followed the classic method of many a successful East European Jew: start at the bottom and learn any business by the trial-and-error system. He assembled untrained actors and turned the small platform of the tavern into a stage. He painted the scenery, trained the cast, selected the costumes and was director and stage manager of the plays he wrote and the songs he composed. Roumanian Jewish audiences responded immediately and the crude attempts at Jassy started the permanent Yiddish theatre, of which Abraham Goldfaden was father and creator.

Encouraged, the rising impresario moved his troupe to Bucharest. In the Roumanian capital he increased the cast and discovered Sigmund Mogulescu, a choir-singer who showed great promise. When Goldfaden produced his hastily written *Shmendrik* and gave the comic title role to the youthful Mogulescu, Israel Grodner and Joseph Latainer left and formed a rival troupe. This proved healthy, for both companies thrived and Latainer subsequently became a playwright and producer in New York. As for Mogulescu, he developed into one of the great comedians of his day on any stage.

Circumstances favored the growth of the Yiddish theatre. The Russian-Turkish War brought to Roumania many Jewish merchants and their clerks who found the Yiddish stage quite diverting for their leisure hours. When the war ended they returned to Russia with a newly acquired taste. Roumanian Jewry could not support a permanent theatre, so Goldfaden transported his actors to Odessa, perhaps the most advanced—in a modern cultural sense—of any Jewish community in Russia. Here the intelligentsia, of which Goldfaden was a member, favored the Yiddish theatre but criticized the naive dramas, the coarse humor, the overemphatic acting. But Goldfaden could not suddenly lift the taste of his audiences nor the quality of quickly improvised plays to the higher standards of European art. Besides, he knew the downtrodden people needed light amusement as an escape from the hideous barbarities of the Czar's government.

In Odessa the earliest indication of the Zionist movement that was

to come became manifest among the intellectuals, inspired by Leo Pinsker's *Autoemancipation,* a deeper analysis of the Jewish abnormal situation than can even be found in Theodor Herzl's *Jewish State* of the following decade. Goldfaden the poet sensed the approaching nationalism, the spirit of self-respect and opposition to tyranny, the coming movement to rebuild the ancient Jewish homeland. He turned to the glories of the past and composed operettas that would bring back heroic episodes and at the same time move the heart with touching melodies set to uplifting lyrics. In *Judah the Maccabee* he glorified the hero who won in the struggle to preserve Judaism, the fighter long blurred in popular consciousness, which retained only the father's name Mattisyahu out of the Hanukah prayer. He resurrected the name *Bar Kochba,* the military leader who held at bay for four years the overwhelming might of Rome in the last struggle for Judean liberty. In *Shulsmith,* perhaps his most popular work, Goldfaden goes back to the legends and folklore of simple life in old Judea, of uninhibited love among shepherds and peasants, unhampered by sophistication or excessive learning, a delightful phantasy of an idealized Arcadia. These musical melodramas may neither be high art nor great music but they brought balm to the spiritual trauma of an oppressed people, anxious to escape its miserable existence in brutal Russia.

The Jews in Russia were ripe in 1879 for the players that Goldfaden brought. More dramas were written and produced despite the tensions caused by pogroms following the assassination of Alexander II. In Odessa, Goldfaden's company was joined by Jacob P. Adler, tall, young and distinguished, who later became the guiding star of Yiddish drama. Evidently the Czar feared the effect of these plays upon a population that had good reason to long for his downfall. It caused little surprise when the corrupt governing clique in 1883 closed down all Jewish theatres that sprang up in the larger cities and outlawed stage productions in Yiddish.

The growing number of actors and playwrights, among them Abraham Goldfaden, joined the stream of refugees out of Russia to the free world across the Atlantic. In New York they found the

Yiddish theatre already functioning. A 16-year-old choir singer, Boris Thomashefsky, had induced the saloon keeper, Frank Wolf, to finance the trip of some Yiddish actors from London. They immediately produced Goldfaden's *Koldunya* (The Witch) and started the Jewish stage in America, with its fluctuating career of triumphs and failures, its heyday and ultimate decline. There were so few actresses that good-looking young Boris, with his high falsetto voice useful in synagogue choirs, had to play women's parts, as in the days of Shakespeare. The pioneering Thomashefsky became a popular figure of the Jewish theatre as actor, playwright, producer, the matinee idol of hardworking young women in the sweatshops and their glamorous hero of romance.

Again conditions assisted in fusing the newly assembled acting groups into a permanent theatre. To begin with, the large influx of immigrants coming from a culture that had hardly progressed since the 17th century, worked hard for low wages and lived in squalid poverty. They could escape the dreary monotony neither through religion, alcohol, sports or baseball. While they had a natural penchant for the theatre, the language, mores and spirit of the Broadway stage was foreign. Craving some form of amusement they, in a sense, constituted a captive, yet willing, audience for Yiddish plays.

Goldfaden was under no illusions as to the culture or sophistication of his early audiences in Europe or America. His plays might be termed melodramas interspersed with songs, dances and low comedy. With no models to follow, he had to create his own forms and techniques. Following the Goldfaden genre, Joseph Latainer who came to New York in 1884 ground out over 100 melodramas, none of lasting value. Several years later arrived Moses Horowitz, calling himself "Professor," who became even more prolific considering his shorter life span of 56 years. Most of his plays are historical, and even such dramas on timely events as the Homestead strike or the Kishineff massacre could be designated contemporary history. His best known drama, *Tiza Eslar,* based on the blood libel in Hungary, took two evenings to perform.

A playwright of higher calibre was Jacob Gordin, a journalist who

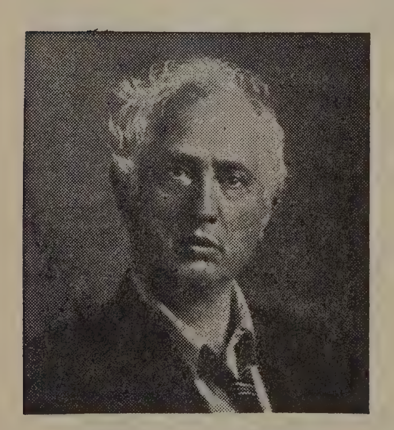
wrote Russian and immigrated to the U.S.A. in 1891. He had never attempted the drama nor did he write in Yiddish. But the success of his first effort *Siberia* encouraged him to become the outstanding dramatist of the Yiddish stage in his day. His plays are largely adaptations from European dramas, themes of Shakespeare and Goethe in Jewish settings. His best known drama, *The Jewish King Lear,* depicts a father dividing his entire estate among two older daughters and disinheriting his far more deserving child. His successful adaption of the Faust theme was *God, Man and Devil.* Adverse criticisms to the effect that his stark realism stifled Jewish character and psychology elicited Gordin's defense: "I am not a Jewish writer. I am merely a writer for Jews." While raising the tone of the Yiddish stage, Gordin's 71 plays range from the worthless to works of limited merit. Many achieved high popularity.

But this popularity for half a century may be largely attributed to excellent acting. Without tradition or training in a dramatic school, actors of high merit developed. The dominating figure was Jacob P. Adler, under whose stimulus his son Luther and four daughters Celia, Francis, Julia and Stella became talented performers. Audiences also showed warm appreciation for the tragedian David Kessler, the appealing Bertha Kalish, the comedian Mogulescu and his successor Ludwig Satz, the soubrette Bessie Thomashefsky together with her husband Boris—always an attraction in his younger years. Rudolph Schildkraut left the German theatre of Max Reinhardt for the New York Yiddish stage. The artistic merits of the Jewish theatre were recognized in 1897 on Broadway when Jacob Adler acted Shylock in Yiddish with the supporting cast speaking the *Merchant of Venice* lines in Shakesperian English.

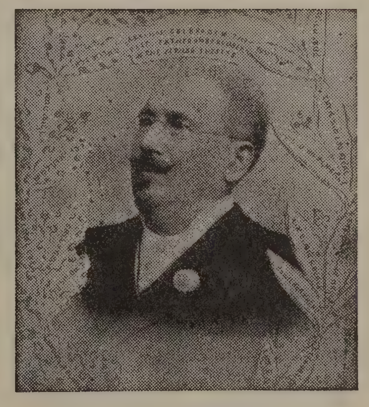
Ironically this exotic theatre began its decline while reaching into a higher creative plane and developing more subtlety. Maurice Schwartz started the Yiddish Art Theatre in 1921 and produced plays of outstanding merit by David Pinski, H. Leivick, Perez Hirschbein, Sholem Asch and I. J. Singer. Jewish drama reached its apotheosis with *The Dybbuk* by S. Ansky, the tragedy of mysticism based on the Cabalistic theme of the soul passing into another body.

This folklore drama with supernatural overtones was translated into many languages and recast into an Italian opera.

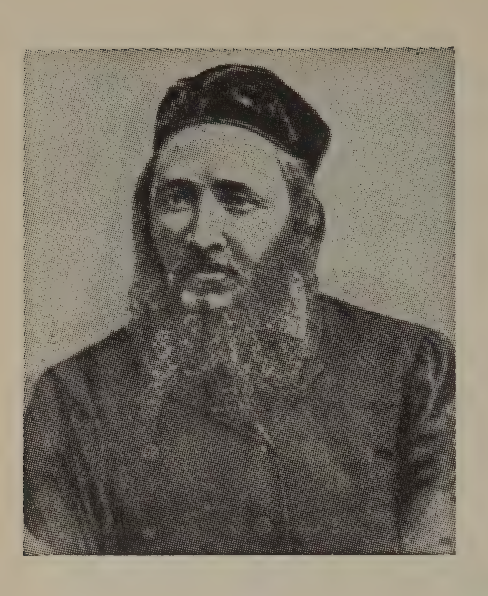
The passing of the Yiddish theatre is due to obvious reasons. The decline began with the silent films offering entertainment and serious drama at low admission prices to people unfamiliar with the English language. This caused such capable actors as Jacob Ben-Ami, Bertha Kalish, Luther Adler, Menasha Skulnik, Paul Muni (original name Weisenfreund) and others to seek wider fields on English speaking boards. But the foremost cause of atrophy lay in the gradual dying out of the generation that spoke Yiddish. Their offspring may be found among the enthusiastic devotees that swell the audiences in English-language theatres in New York and elsewhere. The talents formerly dedicated to the Yiddish stage may now be traced on Broadway and the straw hat circuits. Elmer Rice, Sidney Kingsley, Clifford Odets, S. N. Behrman, George S. Kaufman, Herman Wouk, Arthur Miller and the host of Jewish playwrights, actors and producers who enrich the American theatre are descendants of the immigrants who found pleasure and solace in the Yiddish theatre.



ABRAHAM GOLDFADEN.



JACOB ADLER.



1891

JACOB JOSEPH

Chief Rabbi of New York

THROUGHOUT THE FINAL QUARTER of the 19th century, constant persecutions by the Czars drove large numbers of Jews to the U.S.A. The welcome by their American brethren was not too cordial. The Portuguese Sephardim were almost extinct and their successors out of Central Europe exercised within community life the influence and prestige conferred by economic wellbeing plus adjustment to environment. They regarded the bearded refugees from the Russian Pale as semi-barbarous fanatics, gesticulating uncouthly while speaking a vulgar jargon.

The exodus out of Russia soon doubled, tripled and quadrupled American Jewry. The population in New York that numbered about 60,000 in 1880 exceeded a quarter-million as the decade was closing. The majority were immigrants shedding their foreign ways and rapidly assuming the language, the manners and customs of their adopted land. They felt neither abashed nor inferior when confronted with the snooty airs assumed by their more Americanized co-religionists. They possessed a sense of inner worth, a consciousness of the piety, the Talmudic lore, the intellectual activity that

germinated in the Russian Pale, despite poverty, squalor and government imposed restrictions. In return they regarded their Americanized brethren of German extraction mostly as ex-cattle dealers from Bavaria, without culture, piety or spiritual depth, moving towards assimilation and extinction.

The more religious feared the effects of complete Americanization upon their ancestral faith. In Eastern Europe, Judaism had for centuries stood like a sturdy oak weathering the fiercest storms of hate, calumny, oppressive laws and organized mob violence. But would it withstand the attractive American ethos in the beneficent setting that frowned upon anti-Semitism? The more learned or sensitive felt that Judaism was the priceless heritage that remains the unique creation of the Jewish people. Yet they feared that general indifference, the lack of learning, the chaotic materialism that prevailed in American life were threatening to disintegrate the Mosaic faith.

To these recent arrivals Judaism meant the strict Orthodoxy that received its fullest expression in Eastern Europe. They abhorred Reform in its various degrees as the short-cut to assimilation and, finally, conversion. To maintain the ancient faith it was necessary to preserve the Talmudic code with all the burdens it imposes. The best approach towards preventing the secularization of Jewish life would be to import from the Old World one of those holy men, the combination of saint, scholar, leader and thinker, steeped in Rabbinic learning. Such a spiritual force might arrest disintegration and restore Judaism in America to its pristine vigor. Fortunately such *Gaonim* could still be found in Eastern Europe. One of them might be persuaded to come and lead the backsliders to God and the Torah.

Under the leadership of the *Beth Hamidrash Hagodol,* the oldest and largest Synagogue of East European Jewry in New York, the Association of the American Hebrew Orthodox Congregations was formed. The Association, composed of 17 synagogues, large and small, immediately began its quest for the *Gaon* best qualified to serve as "Chief Rabbi of New York." Filled with fervor, the leaders

disregarded the objections raised by cautious critics, Reform as well as Orthodox. Possibly they were also actuated by more worldly motives. A *Gaon* as *Rav ha-Kolel* of New York would have precedence over the other Orthodox rabbis, including even the imposing Minister of the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue, the oldest in America. Furthermore he would overshadow those polished, half-assimilated *Goyim* calling themselves Reform Rabbis. But most important, a Chief Rabbi from Russia would raise the status of East Europeans in the eyes of uptown Jewry and of Gentiles.

The association selected Rabbi Jacob Joseph, the community preacher of Vilna. Vilna, the "Jerusalem of Lithuania," had a special appeal since it enjoyed the highest repute by reason of its long line of saintly scholars and erudite laymen. The most revered figure in all East European history is Rabbi Elijah, the *Vilner Gaon*. Immediately criticism was leveled against the choice, but not because of any lack of learning or piety on the part of the one chosen. Everyone agreed that personally he was above reproach. Earnest as well as prejudiced leaders contended that Rabbi Jacob Joseph, a completely integrated sage in his own milieu, was not the proper spiritual leader for America. Unable to speak a word of English and unfamiliar with the spirit of the New World, he could not influence the young generation, anxious to forget Yiddish and identify itself with American culture.

On arrival, July 7, 1888, a crowd welcomed Rabbi Jacob Joseph. The impression he produced was that of a scholarly Talmudist, sincere and genuine in his orthodoxy, yet a "broadly tolerant and liberal-minded gentleman." At his first sermon in the Beth Hamidrash Hagadol on the afternoon of the Sabbath when the Prophetic portion from Isaiah, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people" is read, the audience overflowed into the street where a large crowd was waiting to catch a glimpse of the new Chief Rabbi. The sermon impressed everyone with its stress on loving-kindness, for understanding among his followers, for the recognition to be sought by the practice of virtue, moral living and deeds of liberality and charity. The Yiddish was clear and distinct without gestures or undue em-

phasis. Those who came to scoff remained to praise. The general press, the Yiddish and English-Jewish publications, reported favorably. His adherents were jubilant as respect for the Chief Rabbi grew and spread uptown among the Reform and even reached city and state officialdom. Everything seemed to augur well for Rabbi Joseph to fulfill the expectations of his sponsors when a misstep upset the era of good feeling and prepared a tragic end for the experiment.

The kosher system of slaughter and preparation of meat has an importance in Rabbinic Judaism altogether incomprehensible to non-Jews or even to non-Orthodox Jews. Its significance to the pious is linked with the preservation of Jews and Judaism. The preparation becomes an intricate ritual, requiring organized supervision. Thus when the elated Association leaders saw the respect their Rabbi evoked, they concluded that such veneration should succeed in bringing about the enforcement of Kashruth. The Association aimed to reorganize the system and place Kashruth under strict surveillance. But all organization involves expense. So the leaders decided to impose a penny tax on every fowl slaughtered by the *shohet* and to instruct housewives not to buy a slaughtered chicken unless it had attached a tag with the imprint: *Rav ha-Kolel Jacob Joseph*. The income from the one cent tags would be used to pay the cost of supervision. Rabbi Joseph objected to the procedure, but was overruled by the practical business men who maintained that it was the approved American practice of meeting overhead.

Immediately the storm broke. Opponents of the Chief Rabbi joined forces. Prominent among the dissenters were those rabbis who had not been consulted about setting up a Chief Rabbinate in New York. The butchers opposed to supervision organized as the "Hebrew Poultry Butchers Association." They were joined by radical elements, the socialists and anarchists, who seized any occasion to expose the "gouging methods of clerical exploitation."

The attitude of the Russian Jewish intelligentsia at the close of the last century towards Judaism in general and Orthodoxy in particular appears strange, if not bizarre. It was vindictive and spiteful. Some went so far as to stage a ball on Yom Kippur Eve to deride the

austere holiness of the fast with pagan revelry. Any weapon was permissible that might break the hold of religion which, they regarded, the ally of an exploiting capitalism, the preserver of the status quo with its consequent support of corrupt government. Radicals considering themselves the heralds of progress and saviors of society pounced upon the pious, bewildered Rabbi as the symbol of medieval obscurantism. Their spokesman and theoretician on the occasion was Getzel Zelikovitz, the "Lithuanian Philosopher," who used the columns of his Yiddish "Folksadvocat" to caricature, to satirize, to lampoon in prose and verse the Rabbi and the tax. At a meeting financed by the butchers, speakers delivered fiery and vindictive orations.

With devastating effect the opposition bandied about the word *Karobka,* the tax imposed by the Czar's government upon Kosher meat, a tax which was often used for anti-Jewish purposes. Identification of the Chief Rabbi's penny tax on poultry with *Karobka* brought back memories of the evils and humiliations in Russia and served as a propaganda slogan to exasperate the masses. Rabbi Joseph met the scurrility and vituperation with calm dignity. He refused to utter a word of bitterness against his detractors, but went on preaching in the synagogues of the Association, all the while attempting to bring reforms in Kashruth. He did, however, criticise those who because of a penny chose to buy non-Kosher meat.

The penny tax on poultry was neither unjust nor burdensome. The income derived from it hardly covered the minimum cost of supervision. Yet the incident lowered the prestige of Rabbi Joseph. Constant smear and ridicule undermined his authority and prevented him from attempting the important tasks for which the office was intended: to bring order out of the chaotic religious life in lower New York, to raise the prestige of Orthodoxy, to halt the spread of Reform. The Chief Rabbinate itself became an object of scorn when another group of synagogues chose Joshua Segel as Chief Rabbi and proceeded to compete with the Association of the American Hebrew Orthodox Congregations in supervision of Kashruth and in operating a *Beth Din* (Rabbinical Court). It became quite obvious that there

could be no limit to the number of "Chief Rabbis" who might be selected by several congregations banding together in New York or in any other large city.

Out of his element, Rabbi Joseph began to lose his sense of reality. The poultry tax should have been a warning. Yet again he permitted the use of his name on seals that approved wine and matzos for Passover use. The tax of 25¢ on a barrel of flour for the baking of matzos was certainly not excessive. Yet it caused the last shreds of his authority to dissipate. When his six-year contract expired it was not renewed. His employer, the Association, was without funds and rapidly falling apart. The butchers association that accepted his supervision was induced to pay his salary. He still held the title of Chief Rabbi, but it was obvious to him, as to everyone else, that his mission to the U.S.A. had failed. He bore the humiliations of his decline and neglect with stoic dignity. But inwardly the wounds were festering. Soon confined to bed, he spent his remaining six years on a "mattress grave." Nor did financial distress help to ease his pain. On July 28, 1902, death at 54 ended his suffering.

Suddenly the lower East Side awoke to the realization that a saint and martyr had lived in their midst. The synagogues that rejected and neglected Rabbi Joseph now competed for the honor of interring his body. The Beth Hamidrash Hagodol paid his widow $1500 in cash and $15 monthly for life for permission to bury his remains in its cemetery. It proved a windfall to the congregation. Families paid large sums for the privilege of lying near the sainted Rabbi.

Reverently, about 100,000 mourners followed the bier, as if conscience-stricken over the wrongs heaped upon a holy man. The East Side had never seen such a large funeral. The sorrow was genuine, but apparently atonement could not so easily be obtained. As the procession passed the printing-press factory of R. H. Hoe and Co., pieces of metal, slag and refuse were thrown upon the marchers by workmen overhead. A riot started. The police arrived, but evidently were not overzealous in identifying the assailants. The marchers had to grapple with their protectors. Many Jews were victims of

police clubs as well as flying missiles. But the forgiving spirit of Rabbi Joseph probably intervened. Good actually resulted from evil. The country was shocked at the desecration, and Mayor Seth Low ordered an investigation. The facts were established and the anti-Semitic elements were removed from the Police Department. Many times thereafter Jews had occasion to stage demonstrations on the streets of New York, but never again did such an outrage occur.

Thus closed a unique episode in American Judaism. Never again was the idea reinstated. A Chief Rabbinate, successful in Britain or France, seems unsuitable to conditions in America. What seemed fitting in Eastern Europe was alien to the New World. The Association leadership failed to distinguish the basic differences in the structural form of religious life. In Europe the community was the unit of religious organization, in America the synagogue is independent of communal dictation. The next generation attempted to bring order into Orthodoxy by creating the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.

The sponsors and backers of Rabbi Joseph could perhaps be charged with evading a moral responsibility. Abandoning a spiritual personality to be supported by unwilling poultry dealers made him a tragic figure. Yet the entire incident marks an important step in the emergence of the East European immigrants. It demonstrated some important lessons. The Yiddish-speaking Rabbi with Old World orientations could not lead in America, regardless of his learning or saintly character. The newcomers sensed that commercialism in religion was repugnant to American pragmatism; that public opinion reflected in free speech and a free press rendered the semi-medieval customs of community life in the Russian Pale distasteful to American mores.

The imposition of a Chief Rabbinate by a small group was probably the first public act of the recent arrivals. Yet it awoke the uptown leadership of German extraction from their complacency. The older stock suddenly realized that the Yiddish-speaking immigrant without polished manners had stored up within him an abundance

of aggressive vitality which could no longer be ignored. Communal direction had to be shared with the East European or else the emerging elements would by-pass the established leadership and take matters into their own hands.



RABBI JACOB JOSEPH SCHOOL, NEW YORK.



1892

EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Anarchists

IN THE REACTION that followed the youthful liberalism of Alexander II, Russia presented a dreary prospect to the people generally and for Jews in particular. Yet the intelligentsia were not completely bereft of hope. In secret cells a generation of nihilists, ready to pay the extreme penalty of instant execution or slow death in Siberian exile, were plotting revolution. Dreams of a glowing future helped to efface the bleak, yet perilous, present. The killers of tyrants were hailed as the heroes and martyrs who heralded the coming Utopia. Notions of rebellion slowly trickled through the intellectual fog, gradually infecting the masses.

Such was the atmosphere in which Emma Goldman grew up. Born in Kovno (now Kaunas), she lived as a child with relatives and went to school in Koenigsberg, the Prussian dream city for Lithuanian Jews. Unable to get along with an uncle, Emma and her mother recrossed the Russian frontier by stealth and bribery and rejoined the family which was now living in St. Petersburg. By what right impoverished Abraham Goldman could reside in the capital of all the Russias, restricted to but a small number of privileged Jews,

Emma does not explain in her two-volume autobiography. At 12 she went to work in a factory for small wages and at 17 emigrated with high hopes to the "golden land" of unlimited freedom and opportunity.

The enraptured tears that flowed on passing the Statue of Liberty were soon dried when the harsh, antagonistic officials at Castle Garden began pushing about the bewildered newcomers. Working in a Rochester sweatshop 10½ hours a day for $2.50 a week disillusioned the romantic girl. Her rebellious leanings were stimulated by the brutality of the police towards strikers and their clubbing of peaceful workers assembled lawfully to protest against starvation wages. Evidently political freedom could go hand in hand with economic servitude.

A deplorable incident that occurred in Chicago during a strike in 1886 for the eight-hour day determined the course of Emma for the rest of her turbulent life. A protest meeting at Haymarket Square was addressed by labor orators, including two anarchists. The mayor attended in behalf of public safety, and seeing no danger left towards the end. Then for no apparent reason a squad of police entered the Square as if to disperse the crowd that already had begun to leave. Someone threw a bomb which exploded with a deafening crash, killing a policeman and wounding several others.

Public feeling throughout the land became inflamed. Eight Anarchists, who included the two speakers, were arrested, tried and convicted of murder. No evidence was ever adduced connecting the accused with the bomb-thrower, who was never discovered. The presiding judge, Joseph E. Gary, declared: "The conviction has not gone on the ground that they did actually have any personal participation in the particular act which caused the death of Degan; but the conviction proceeds upon the ground that they had generally by speech and print advised large classes to commit murder and had left the commission, the time, place, and when to the individual will, whim or caprice or whatever it may be of each individual man who listened to their advice." Four of the convicted were hanged, one committed suicide, two were given life imprisonment and one a

fifteen year sentence. The recent immigrant came to the conclusion that if the judicial murders prevalent in Russia were possible in free America then all governments are evil. Emma, then 18, left her family in Rochester, proceeded to New York and joined the Anarchist group.

What is this bizarre notion called Anarchism? To social thinkers, among them Emerson and Thoreau, the anarchist ideal meant "that ultimately nations, representing as they did the modern form of tribalism, would dissolve into individuals comprising them, that patriotism would expand into philanthropy, piece by piece the clumsy fabric of government would be disposed of." But such long range solutions to the ills of society did not suit impatient Johann Most, the German theoretician of Anarchism in America. His school advocated violence to hasten the social revolution that would emancipate the working class, destroy the state, confiscate all wealth, and reorganize society into cooperative groups which would function without the domination of an overall government. But to the man on the street these theories were too abstract. In the Anarchist he saw the assassin with bomb, dagger or gun, ready to murder the heads of constituted authority. Such dangerous enemies of society, he felt, must be eliminated.

In New York, Emma Goldman found her true world. In spite of hard work, long hours and small pay, life in her environment was exhilarating. Accepted by Johann Most, she quickly became a leading spirit in the group. She met Alexander Berkman, also a native of Lithuania and one year her junior. Together they read books, attended meetings, heard lectures, assisted in strikes, and helped Johann Most in getting out the weekly *Freiheit*. But they longed to do something more heroic in behalf of their cause. The opportunity presented itself soon enough.

In Homestead near Pittsburgh the steel workers went out on strike against the Carnegie Steel Company. While the famous philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie, vacationed in Europe, the entire management was turned over to the ruthless enemy of labor, Henry Clay Frick, chairman of the board and a capitalist himself. He abolished

the sliding scale of wages and refused to recognize the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers or to make any new contract with them. He would pay such wages as he saw fit and simply closed the mills until the workers came separately and asked for employment. He hired a band of Pinkerton detectives and they fought several pitched battles with the strikers, killing a number of workers. Naturally labor was aroused. But even the conservative press condemned Frick for deliberately provoking a crisis that might engulf the entire nation.

This was more than the young Anarchists could take. Emma and Alexander Berkman operated a small ice-cream store in New Haven. Breathlessly they followed events in Homestead. Stirred to the utmost by the manifestly unfair tactics of Frick, they felt the time had come for the *attentat,* the violent deed which would call attention to injustice. The young lovers deliberately planned to kill H. C. Frick. Alexander studied bomb-making in Most's textbook, *Science of Revolution*. But his completed bomb proved a dud. He decided to use a gun. Emma pleaded to go along, but her "boy friend," who expected to pay with his life, objected declaring that he did not want both to die. She would be more valuable alive working for the cause, he insisted. Besides, they did not have enough money to pay fare for both. Alone, he boarded the train for Pittsburgh.

The 22-year-old boy forced his way into Frick's private office and opened fire. Frick fell with three bullets in his body. Workmen rushed in and knocked Alexander down with a hammer. Every one thought Frick dead until they heard his cry. Berkman crawled near to stab his victim with a dagger, but the workers pounded him into unconsciousness. Frick, however, did not die. His assailant was brought to trial, but naively refused the aid of a lawyer. Consequently, Berkman was sentenced to serve 21 years in the state penitentiary.

The whole country was shocked and angered. Emma Goldman achieved nation-wide notoriety when certain newspapers associated her with Alexander Berkman. Yet that did not stop her from presid-

ing at a meeting that extolled Frick's attacker for unselfish idealism in his consecration to the people. The press asked, "How long will this dangerous woman, possessed by a fury, be permitted to go on?" But the police bided their time. The 1893 depression was on and the poor unemployed suffered severely. The atmosphere was tense at a meeting in Union Square when she made a vitriolic speech urging the hungry to take the bread they saw as their sacred right. "Red Emma" was arrested, tried and convicted. She served one year on Blackwell's Island.

All such carryings on were naturally galling to the Jews in America. The older integrated group burned with shame at the thought of their hardworking, law-abiding coreligionists, celebrated for their domestic virtues, their peaceful behavior and their ambition to succeed, becoming jailbirds, convicted of attempted murder or incitement to riot. The immigrant group, not yet secure nor adjusted, feared that these loose-living, violence-preaching radicals would generate anti-Semitism in the new land. The Orthodox blamed atheism for the antics of believers in Free Love. But the majority were mystified. Nor were they enlightened on hearing Emma Goldman in fluent, forceful Yiddish define her faith in Anarchism as: "The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary." No one could foresee that after the opening of the 20th Century the term Anarchist would become so despicable that few would want to be identified with its ideology.

Emma served her term and went back to the old life. In demand as a speaker, she traveled about the country organizing groups and propagandizing Anarchism. While lecturing in Cleveland, she noticed a golden-haired, blue-eyed youth who asked her to recommend some reading matter she was selling. Later in Chicago, the same boy calling himself Nieman, walked her to the station, saying that he was bored with Socialism and wanted to join the Anarchists. She was annoyed at the Chicago comrades for suspecting him a spy. Shortly thereafter she caught the headlines of a Chicago newspaper:

"Assassin of President McKinley an Anarchist. Confesses to Having Been Incited by Emma Goldman. Woman Anarchist Wanted." The inside sheet carried the picture of Leon Czolgosz, who shot the President at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo. To her amazement Leon Czolgosz was none other than the fair-haired, blue-eyed Nieman.

The entire nation was horrified. When the President died, public feeling reached the frenzy stage. "Anarchists must be exterminated!" raged the papers. "Emma Goldman has been allowed to ply her trade of murder too long. She should be forced to share the fate of her dupes." In Chicago, Emma hid at the home of a Protestant minister's son, but detectives found and arrested her on a warrant issued out of Buffalo. At the hearing no evidence connected her as an accomplice of Czolgosz. In spite of the public demand of vengeance, the Illinois court refused extradition and released her.

Returning to New York, she found that the name Emma Goldman spelled anathema. No lodging-house would let her in. Nor could she find work of any kind until her identity was hidden behind the assumed Mrs. E. G. Smith. Emma virtually became a pariah. But her world crumbled when she received a *sub rosa* letter from Alexander Berkman in prison pointing out the futility, the lack of any social necessity, in assassinating McKinley, who was not "a direct or immediate enemy of the people." Was it possible that she worshipped at a false shrine? Some of the more thoughtful Anarchists declared that Czolgosz had done their cause irreparable injury. Shaken with doubts, Emma and her comrades, unable to show their faces, went underground.

A violent public antipathy descended upon all believers in the destruction of government. In the popular mind Anarchist became synonymous with criminal, destroyer, assassin and terrorist. A Criminal Anarchy Law passed the Legislatures of New York and New Jersey. McKinley's successor, Theodore Roosevelt, led the crusade with a message to Congress that sounded the death knell of Anarchism in America. Congress enacted the Anti-Anarchist Immigration Law, which prevented the entry into the U. S. of any person

who advocated the overthrow of government by violence or the assassination of public officials. Anarchism ceased to be a threat, a danger or a menace.

In the virile administration of Theodore Roosevelt matters more pressing pushed Anarchism into the background. Thus the release of Alexander Berkman, after serving 14 out of his 21 year sentence, scarcely caused a ripple. Soon the 1907 panic monopolized public attention. The Anarchist Guild resumed its activities but on a more subdued note. Meanwhile Emma had grown in stature; her culture deepened; her speeches had fire, intensity and clarity. With the death of Johann Most leadership went to Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who edited the party organ, *Mother Earth*. Birth control, a controversial issue at the turn of the century, evoked some heated partisanship. Emma was in the midst of the fray, striking some telling blows in behalf of limiting large broods of children among the impoverished, the diseased, the undernourished. In the reaction against interference with free speech, people, not all sympathetic to Anarchism, came to hear Emma Goldman to register disapproval of police tactics.

While Emma was lecturing on such topics as atheism, the drama, patriotism, marriage, anarchism and woman's emancipation, the World War broke out. Woodrow Wilson declared a state of neutrality, yet tensions began mounting as the country drifted towards war. Emma and Berkman organized meetings that opposed preparedness. Finally the U. S. declared war on Germany and Congress passed the Selective Draft Law. While the two anarchists refrained from counseling anyone not to register, they did speak out at meetings protesting American entry and opposing conscription of American boys for the trenches in France. A Federal Grand Jury brought in an indictment charging Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman with conspiracy to defeat the selective draft.

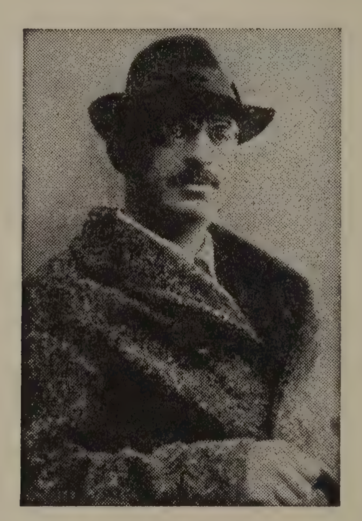
At the trial both pleaded their own cases skillfully; they refused the benefit of counsel, and made brilliant speeches. The jury found them guilty. The judge sentenced both to serve two years in the Federal Penitentiary and ordered them deported to their land of

origin. Berkman was not a citizen, but Emma had as a young girl married an American in Rochester. She claims in her life story that the government revoked his citizenship after his death. On Dec. 21, 1919 Emma and Alexander with about 250 rounded up Socialists, Communists and Anarchists were put on board the *Buford,* a transport that had seen service in the Spanish-American War; it was old, unseaworthy, and without elementary sanitation. In the midst of an icy winter, they reached Petrograd, formerly St. Petersburg.

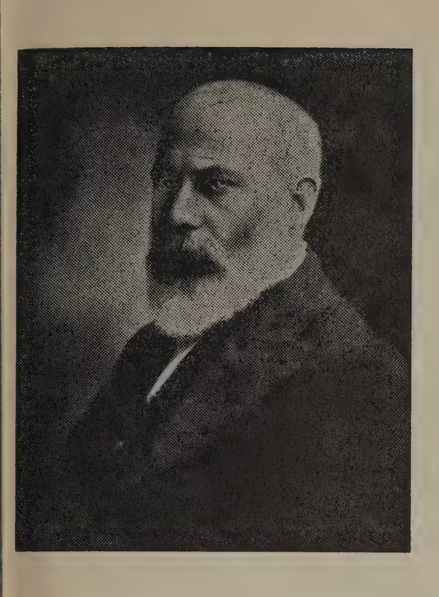
The sincerity of the two Anarchists now came in for a test. How would opponents of all government react to the "dictatorship of the proletariat?" At first they were thrilled and excused the violations in Soviet practice of Socialist theory as due to the dangers threatening the liberated state from enemies without and treachery within. But why did their comrades in Petrograd receive them at a secret meeting? There they heard of Anarchists imprisoned in jails or exiled to Siberia. Could the Cheka's execution without trial of 500 persons on the night before the decree abolishing capital punishment be justified? The complaints of Emma and Alexander to Maxim Gorki, to Lunacharsky, to Lenin himself brought the same answers as those parroted by the obscure party liners. They attempted to smother their disappointments in difficult tasks by utilizing their American know-how in reforming archaic methods. But their efforts were blocked by a rigid bureaucracy that stood as a brick wall against necessary innovations. They learned that in spite of Lenin's ukase outlawing anti-Semitism, pogroms were still being carried out.

Their last shreds of faith were swept away on beholding the tragedy in Kronstadt. There the sailors, notwithstanding their proven Soviet loyalty, were exterminated for supporting the demands of the Petrograd workers for more bread, more fuel, more freedom. It was high time to leave when the Communist party decided to deport or liquidate all Anarchists who criticized the regime. After 21 months Emma and Berkman, filled with a deeper hate towards the Soviet tyranny than for any capitalist government, deemed themselves fortunate in leaving Russia alive.

Without home or country, Emma shifted about from place to place until England granted her asylum. Even there she felt unsure of permanence until, out of sheer necessity, she married a British citizen. Her experiences in the Soviet autocracy she recorded in *My Disillusionment in Russia,* which was published in New York. Yet Emma yearned for the United States, which she considered her home. But in spite of approval for her Russian disclosures, American officials would not admit her except for a three months' lecture tour during the Roosevelt administration. In 1940 her tempestuous life of 71 years closed in Canada, four years after Alexander Berkman died in Nice, France.



ALEXANDER BERKMAN.



1893

DANIEL DE LEON

Apostle of Socialism

In his novel, *Blessed is the Land,* Louis Zara tells of the 23 Jews, who on leaving Brazil were captured by pirates and who landed quite bedraggled on Manhattan Island in 1654. But four years earlier 12 families from Old Amsterdam came to Curacao. Their letters of approval from the East India Company hardly assured them a more cordial reception from the Dutch Governor of the Caribbean Island, also a Stuyvesant, than their brethren obtained later from his kinsman, Peter, the peg-legged boss of New Amsterdam. The De Leons were among those settlers who founded in Curacao the oldest Jewish community in the Western Hemisphere.

In 1852 a De Leon was born in Willemstad, the capital of Curacao to Dr. Solomon De Leon, a physician in the Dutch Navy, and Sarah Jeshurun of old Sephardic stock. After his father's death Daniel, age 14, sailed to Holland for an education. He also studied in Germany and when 22 years old arrived in New York where he edited a Spanish periodical for Cuban revolutionists, since a Spanish patois, Ladino, was spoken at home by Sephardim since the expul-

sion from Spain. When the paper folded up, he tried teaching in a preparatory school and studied law at Columbia.

For six years Daniel De Leon lectured on international law. Columbia then refused to renew the professorship, his friends maintained, because of his activity in city politics. De Leon had become an ardent supporter of Henry George in the mayoralty campaign of 1886. He was fascinated with the author of *Progress and Poverty,* an American classic on economics, for his knowledge, his spiritual depth, his crusading fervor. The spectacular campaign scandalized De Leon's colleagues who considered stump-speaking far beneath academic dignity. Had his candidate won, the University authorities might have taken a different view. With the election over, De Leon delved more closely into the philosophy of Henry George. He soon dismissed the theory of Single-Tax as "flatulent," the product of "half antiquated, half-idiotic reasoning."

Reading *Looking Backwards* by Edward Bellamy, his imagination was stirred. Together with other idealists, De Leon joined the national movement that looked forward towards implementing Bellamy's romance. But closer inquiry brought disillusionment with the saccharine Utopia. De Leon felt the rhythm of vast energies all about him and feared that the machine age threatened to enslave its workers under the new overpowering, economic feudalism.

The close of the Civil War opened an era of industrial activity unprecedented in human history. Beginning with large scale railroad building, new energies were generated with the succeeding scientific discoveries. Mines burrowed deeper and deeper into the bowels of the earth. Metals and elements heretofore unknown were utilized in making machines more efficient, more precise, more ingenious. The spindle loom gave way to the textile mill that covered acres of ground. More and more inventions introduced new industries, quickened locomotion and communication, and created endless luxuries that soon became commonplace necessities.

Seeking a philosophy for living under the ever expanding powers of the Machine Age, De Leon came across the writings of Karl Marx. Here he found the practical solution he sought for the ills

and evils of society and government. Socialism became his testament and gospel, his dogma and creed. All that grows in the earth, the handiwork of men, or the production of machinery should belong to all the people. Private gain out of hired labor became exploitation, the word meaning "heresy" in the new dispensation. Interest, rent, profits and speculation were the cardinal sins responsible for all basic human misery. But how would the new Utopia be realized? Simply by eliminating private property, by giving up to the state, the agent and trustee of the people, all right, title and estate in land, property, machinery, the means of production, the instruments of transportation, of communication. Every person should contribute according to his ability and receive according to his needs. Then will every one be equal in a classless society.

It is difficult for mid-20th century Americans to recapture the attitude of forward-looking liberals to the apocalyptic vision presented by Socialism at the close of the 19th century. The cruelties, the murders, the despotism of the Stalin era have dissipated any illusions as to the salvation offered by the totalitarian state grounded in Marxian ideology. But when Daniel De Leon absorbed the philosophy of Socialism, he became a man possessed, an apostle dedicated to the conversion of the American working class to the gospel of Marx and Engels.

In 1890 De Leon joined the Socialist Labor Party and became editor of its weekly, *The People*. Under his direction the periodical lashed out against the inequalities and exploitations suffered by the underpaid masses. At the same time, he prescribed Socialism as the panacea that would cure the ills of capitalist society. His editorials and pamphlets were cogent and dialectic, his English terse yet eloquent, scholarly but effective. As a propagandist, he travelled as far as the Pacific coast, delivering his vital message with passionate logic.

His apostolic abilities soon won him top place in party leadership. He aimed at indoctrinating American workers and then turning their Socialism into a political movement. But he was balked by the labor leaders, more interested in shorter hours and higher wages

than in hastening the universal proletarian millennium. It was therefore inevitable for the dialectician De Leon with his zeal, his theorizing and single-tracked idealism to clash with practical, hardheaded Samuel Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor. De Leon joined the Knights of Labor, calling themselves a *Noble Order* and headed by a *Grand Master,* a somewhat starry-eyed organization with vague leanings towards a gleaming Utopia to be realized by persuasive idealism. At first he made considerable headway "boring from within," but soon found himself forced out through the very hole he bored.

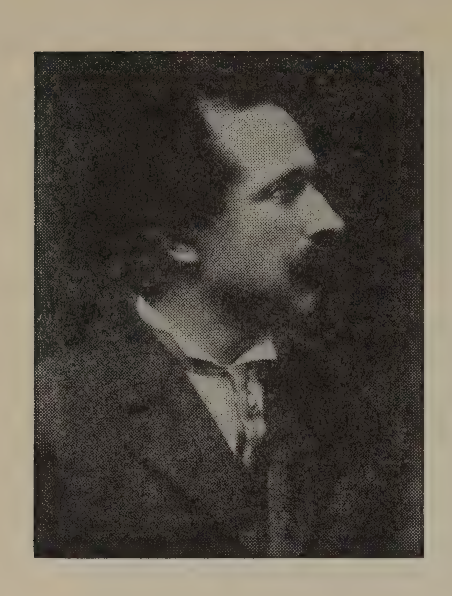
With his Socialist colleagues, De Leon fared little better than with the labor leaders. A dictator by temperament, his desire to dominate hardly fitted into democratic Socialism. An unbending intellectual aristocrat, he did not possess the tact and patience, the give and take that saves organizations from disintegration during times of storm and stress. A rigid fanatical doctrinaire, De Leon was adamant in his zealous demands for party discipline and strict adherence to Socialist doctrine. Some of his most devoted followers, including brilliant young Morris Hillquit or versatile Abraham Cahan, rebelled against his despotic rule. Unable to depose him, they joined the "kangaroo exodus" and entered the Social Democratic Party led by the evangelical Eugene B. Debs. De Leon's Socialist Labor Party and its affiliate, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, remained small and anemic while the organization of Eugene Debs expanded and grew in prestige.

De Leon next tried to enhance Socialism by assisting William D. Haywood in forming the Industrial Workers of the World. The towering intellect of De Leon dominated the discussions even when pitted against such leaders of stature as Gene Debs and Bill Haywood. But again he failed. Inability to bend or to placate aroused bitter antagonism. A radical group of Western anarchists, calling themselves "bums," refused to admit De Leon and others at the fourth I.W.W. convention. The ousted minority formed a new body, the Workers International Industrial Union, which became

another name for De Leon's defunct Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

When De Leon died in 1914, it seemed that he had failed in his lifework, notwithstanding strenuous labors of 25 years since leaving the Columbia campus. Despite brilliant oratory and talents as a writer, he lived in poverty, drawing irregularly a small salary as editor and supplementing his income with literary translations. Never earning enough to support his family, he nevertheless refused to write for commercial magazines on Socialistic subjects. With splendid gifts, he had serious defects which alienated friends and provoked enmities. In spite of his whole-hearted devotion to Socialism, enemies accused him of dishonesty, or rather of untruthfulness. It does seem absurd for an idealist dedicated to raise the condition of the poor and underprivileged, the underpaid and exploited of all nations and races to deny his Jewish origin by boasting of descent from Catholic Venezuelan aristocrats. But his chief failings were intellectual arrogance, fanatical insistence on his brand of dogmatic Socialism that denied the right of dissent or difference from any one, great or small.

Frustrations, perhaps, led him to make a contribution to Socialist philosophy and practice, subsequently incorporated in Russian Communism. His dictatorial instincts craving the obedience which he never received developed the authoritarion principle that sovereign might must be wielded by a small inner clique with undisputed power to exact complete discipline and obedience from the party and the government. Here is the germ of the Soviet monolithic, totalitarian, police state, later developed by the Russian commissars. Four years after his death, at the very beginning of Bolshevist regimentation, Lenin told the American journalist, John Reed, that Daniel De Leon was "the greatest of modern Socialists, the only one who added anything to Socialist thought since Marx."



1894

MORRIS ROSENFELD

Poet of the Sweatshop

Lo! yonder I see the pale worker
Stitch, stitch, without pause, without stay,
Since first I remember him, stitching
And paler and weaker each day.

The slow months roll on in their courses
The years are days that have been
And still the pale worker, bent double
Fights hard with the cruel machine.

I stand and gaze on his features
On his face with the sweat and the soil
Ah! it is not the strength of the body
'Tis the spirit that spurs him to toil.

But from dawn till the sunset and darkness
The tear-drops fall heavy and slow
Till the seams of the cloth he is stitching
Are wet with the vintage of woe.

I pray you, how long must he drive it
This wheel that is red for a sign?
Can you reckon the years of his bondage
And the end—that grim secret—divine?

Too hard are such questions to answer
But this I am bold to declare:
When Death shall have slain the pale worker
Another will sit in his chair.

THESE LINES are translated from the unadorned, almost stark Yiddish written by Morris Rosenfeld, who not only observed the dehumanization, the transformation of man into a machine, but was himself a victim of the system which the English writer Charles Kingsley christened the *sweatshop*.

Morris Jacob Rosenfeld was born in Suvalki, the Polish province bordering on Lithuania. The qualities of Jews in both countries appear to have blended in him—Lithuanian intellectual clarity together with the richer emotional temperament of those who come from Poland. If omens have any significance then the incident at his birth perhaps augured evil for his future. Born in the midst of the Polish rebellion in 1862, a bullet fired during the conflict smashed the windowpane of his home and shattered glass fell over the newly arrived babe. Little intellect or learning can be traced to his humble family of fishery workers. He received the usual *heder* schooling in Bible and later in Talmud, with perhaps a smattering of German and Polish. Already married at 20, he left Russia and years later declared to Norman Hapgood "I would like to have served my country if there had been any freedom for the Jew." He spent a number of months in Amsterdam trying to learn the diamond cutting trade. For several years he shifted back and forth from his home in Poland to England, where he worked at tailoring and earned scarcely enough to support his family even in dire poverty. In 1886 he emigrated with his family and settled in New York.

The Russian persecution brought about a chain reaction that

produced a peculiar almost fantastic situation. The large forced emigration brought into being a Jewish proletariat that led a most wretched existence from the 1880's to the First World War. Ironically their lot in the U.S.A. and in England was virtually as bitter as in the Russian Pale. Yet it was due neither to religious persecution nor to any denial of civil rights. Economic determinism forced a miserable life upon a large group of workers who were caught in a vise that was labelled the sweatshop system.

The denial of rights and opportunities in Russia left millions without trades, handicrafts or the means of earning a livelihood through healthy labor. The *luftmenschen* were stunted, undernourished and not physically fit for the arduous labor required by railroad building, mining or heavy industry. The refugees came in such droves that the Jewish charitable organizations were quickly swamped. The immigrants had fled with their families and landed in New York, Philadelphia, Boston or Baltimore actually penniless. They had to start work immediately or starve.

Just about this time the manufacture of ready-made garments began on a large scale. Cut-throat competition kept prices down and the industry went through its dog-eat-dog stage. The early factories turned over the cut cloth to contractors who farmed out "piece work" to the unskilled immigrants laboring at home. When the Tenement Act outlawed such work as unhealthy, the contractors rented dilapidated storerooms, warehouses, basements and even stables without proper sanitation or ventilation. The contractors, and later the manufacturers, placed rows of sewing machines in their lofts and hired the bewildered newcomers to become "operators." It took little time to become familiar with the sewing machine, the steam pressing irons, or use of the needle and shears for the same piece work, day in day out.

At first the insecure refugees, unfamiliar with the language, the ways and customs of a strange, new land, deemed themselves fortunate to find employment that would maintain their families. But soon they began to feel caught in a trap out of which there was no escape. They worked long hours, from dark before dawn to almost

midnight and received little pay, scarcely enough for coarse food, shoddy wear, and a crowded flat in a tenement, stifling in summer and freezing in winter. Complaint would be of little avail; for the jobs, miserable as they were, if vacated would immediately be filled by those newly arrived from the ships who were waiting to take their places. The underpaid work in depressing surroundings was dulling, monotonous, grinding and debilitating. The sign on the portal of the Inferno "Abandon all hope, ye who enter here" was unnecessary; these condemned workers knew themselves to be slaves of the Industrial Revolution. Their fellow toiler and gifted poet expressed their feelings in his gripping *Machine:*

Oh, here in the shop the machines roar on madly
I often forget I'm alive, or have been
I sink and am lost in the awful tumult;
And void is my soul; I become a machine.
I work and I work and I work, never ceasing
Produce and produce and produce without end
For what? and for whom? I know not, I ask not.
Tell me please! can a machine comprehend?

Here's existence without thought or feeling;
This drudgery, soul crushing and bitter, has drained
The deepest, the highest, the richest, the noblest
Which struggling man through progress attained.
The seconds, the minutes, the hours, speed by
Fleeting, they vanish like chaff in a gale
As if to o'ertake them, I drive the machine
Furiously, but without hope, sense or avail.

At times when I listen, I hear the clock ticking
Saying such things as never had meaning before.
The pendulum prods me, lashes me, goads me
To labor faster, produce more and even more.
The clock and machine are in league with the Boss
The cold stare and pointing hands reveal my foe

The striking, the ticking, the humming, the roaring
All in chorus unite and proclaim "Sew!"

Their plight was acutely pathetic. They were not peasants or serfs accustomed to back-breaking toil, nor muzhiks who confined their pleasures to alchohol and debauchery. Many were intelligent and not without education, aware of the opportunities denied them in a land of freedom. They had inherited a veneration for learning. All spoke Yiddish and could read the Hebrew prayer-book and parts of the Bible. While not all intellectuals, many hungered for the pleasures of the mind, for the reading of good books. Some craved the stimulus of the lecture hall, the elevating delights of good music. To many it was tragic that they had neither the time nor the means to indulge in such luxuries.

There was also, perhaps, a connection between their agonies and the complete rupture with religion. For untold generations their ancestors found consolation for unprecedented tribulations in spiritual comforts. The light of heaven had helped to assuage their grief, ease their burdens, relieve their distress, sustain their hopes and hold forth a shining future to endure the unbearable present. For the sweatshop generation, gone were the holiness of the Sabbath, the sublimity of Rosh Hashona, the austerity of Yom Kippur, the joys of the Seder, the sacredness of the Festivals, the chants of the Hazan which the tailors and shoemakers hummed during their workaday week. Dissipated was a belief in the merciful, all-seeing, all-knowing Deity, or faith in a Judaism that provided for all contingencies from the cradle to the grave. Instead of hearing the Maggid in the synagogue, they attended the lectures of radical speakers intent upon converting them to Socialism or Anarchism.

Yet they could not divest themselves of those hereditary traits that had become second nature. The warmth of family feeling survived the designed effort to be rid of the ancestral faith with its onerous duties. The fervent love of the Jewish father for his child shines forth in Rosenfeld's *Mein Ingele:*

I have one child, and only one
The dearest little lad
And seeing him, I feel as though
The whole wide world I had.

But oh so seldom do I see
My boy awake and bright
I always find him fast asleep
When I come home at night.

So early must I go to work
So late it sets me free
A stranger in my house I am
And strange my child to me.

I come back home with heart oppressed
For sorrow shrouds my days
My pale wife tells how prettily
Our little darling plays.

How well he talks, how knowingly
He makes his sly demand
"Oh Mother, when will Daddy come
A penny in his hand?"

I listen, and I stand erect
And cry, "Yes, it shall be
My love is kindled to a flame
My child shall look on me!"

I stand beside his little bed
He lies so still, so fair
Ah, see! he whispers in his dreams
"Oh Daddy, are you there?"

I kiss the little eyes, Oh joy
I have not kissed in vain

They open wide! He sees me now!
Alas! they close again.

"It is your Father, dearest boy
And here's the penny due,"
Again he whispers in his dreams
Oh Daddy, is it you?

Ah, heavy is my load of grief
Ah, bitter is my lot!
One day, my child, you will awake,
And look—and find me not.

The Latin maxim may assert that a poet must be born, yet the modern view holds that a poet must also be made. This applies to Morris Rosenfeld, who at 15 began to write verses in awkward, crude Yiddish that no paper would publish. The feeling was there, yet he had to go through a period of self-schooled discipline to evolve a style, which while simple and direct, went straight to the heart. His message has the earnest appeal, the burning indignation of an ancient prophet. Rosenfeld has been labeled a "Ghetto poet," which may be a misnomer. The Ghetto was also a spiritual refuge; in spite of the circumscribed existence, the Torah, the Talmud and traditional learning made life not only bearable but to a degree even attractive. Nor was it without a picturesque charm. At least there were no contractors or foremen driving the wage slaves to produce more or starve.

The world of Morris Rosenfeld is virtually without redeeming features, a world devoid of beauty, of personal comfort, of self-expression, of striving after knowledge or spiritual uplift. Primarily, he is the poet of the sweatshop. There were others, but no one approached him in expressing the continuous grind, the benumbing misery, the hopeless lassitude that ultimately ate away the soul of the machine operator.

Year after year, like this it goes
Generation rots, generation grows
Without a purpose, without hope
Only through grief and fears to grope.

His muse could, of course, sing of other themes. Yet to be effective he had to come within the genre of pathos: the pushcart peddler of candles who dies in the swarming bustle of the Lower East Side, unmourned, unsung; the barefoot girl, pushed around, unwanted by society, buffeted by wind and rain. *On the Bosom of the Sea*, deals with the tragedy of Jewish migrations. A ship is storm-tossed until it seems that nothing can save the creaking hull from sinking. The agonized passengers cry out, pray and wring their hands. Their attention is arrested by two men, sitting calmly by, indifferent to the raging wind and waves. Asked whether they have parents, children, home or a God, they answer that all these were destroyed in a pogrom. They finally reach America but the Land of Freedom is sending them back to Russia.

Let the storm rage, let it howl
Let the deep seethe, rise and rave;
For we are lost, wandering Jews
The fathomless sea alone can quench the burning pain.

Towards the close of the century, Yiddish had not quite attained the status of a language. Despised by the cultured as a *patois* it was equally scorned by the Hebraists as the jargon that reflected the degradation of the *Galut*. It was thus quite understandable that the poetry of Rosenfeld would attract but slight attention. Yet no sooner were his earliest verses published in 1886 by the lesser Yiddish papers than they were recited and sung in shops, at workers' meetings, and by the humble in their tenements. Several small books of his poems were printed, and when the *Liederbuch* appeared in 1897 it attracted the notice of Leo Wiener, a Harvard professor, who pub-

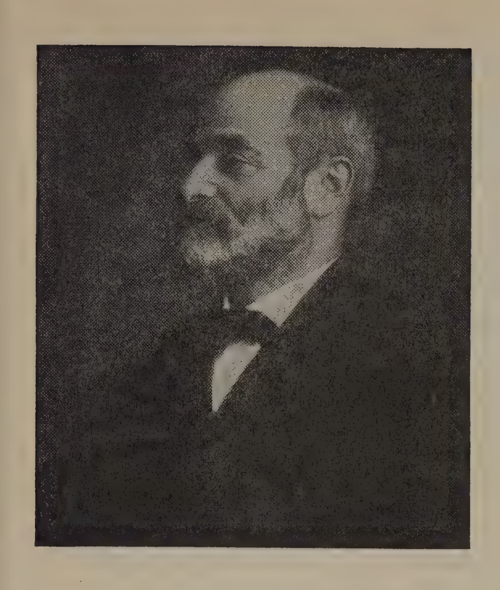
lished some of them together with a translation in English, as *Songs of the Ghetto*.

The more educated public was in a receptive mood to sympathize with the poignant and pathetic lot of the sweatshop victims. The poet was invited to read his verse in lowly Yiddish at Harvard, at Wellesley and Radcliffe Colleges, at Chicago University. At about the same time Berthold Feivel published an attractive volume of Rosenfeld's poems in German script, illuminated with the drawings of E. M. Lilien. Rosenfeld gained international renown and went on a triumphal tour through Europe, receiving acclaim in England, Galicia, Austria, Hungary and Roumania. His poems were translated into French, German, Polish, Roumanian, Hebrew, Russian, Czech, Hungarian and even Japanese. The poet could now give up the factory for equally poor compensation to write feuilletons and prose articles for the *Jewish Daily Forward* and other publications.

The sweatshop has passed into the limbo of the obsolete. After many hard-fought strikes and long-drawn negotiations between unions and manufacturers, Jewish in the main on both sides, workers are installed in ventilated factories. They receive fair wages for reasonable working hours and have unions to safeguard their interests. Can it be that the sweat and tears of Morris Jacob Rosenfeld had their share in liberating his fellow-workers from the yoke of serfdom?



DRAWING BY E. M. LILIEN.



1895

JOSEPH FELS

Social Reformer and Single Taxer

More than half a century after the death of Henry George, the Single Tax idea still has its adherents and enthusiasts. One of them, author and journalist Philip Rubin, has written the following:

"The life-story of Joseph Fels might have been the story of many another successful American Jewish businessman who after acquiring wealth became a philanthropist. But there was a prophetic quality about the man, a combination of practical wisdom, idealism and courage, such as Nature lavishes upon few of her children. When he died at the comparatively young age of 60 there was universal recognition that in him American Jewry had lost one of its noblest figures.

"Fels first became known as the manufacturer of a new kind of soap. The *Fels-Naphtha* became popular with housewives because its ingredients made the chore of washing easier. But before many years his communal activities began to put his business fame in the shade. In England, where he and his wife remained for ten years, he became the leading preacher-propagandist of the Single

Tax idea; his recognition and acceptance as such spread to other West European countries which he visited and exhorted on behalf of the Henry George ideal for social reform in which he so fervently believed.

"In 1853 Joseph Fels was born in Virginia. While an infant the family moved to Yanceyville, N. C., where they remained until Joseph was twelve. Lazarus, his father, was a businessman of average ability; his mother, Susannah, was an admirable helpmate to her husband. In after years Fels said that it was through women such as his mother that the Jewish race had been able to survive.

"Since there were few Jews in Yanceyville, Joseph found most of his associates among Gentiles. He rebelled against school discipline and at 15 his schooling was over. By that time the family had been living for three years in Baltimore where Joseph and his father became representatives of a Philadelphia soap manufacturing firm. During the panic of 1873 the father's soap business failed after years of prosperity. Father and son then moved to Philadelphia and took a commission from a larger soap house under more favorable terms. Henceforth Joseph Fels became identified primarily with Philadelphia, though more than a quarter-century later London was to become his second home.

"Fels did not start his communal activities as a single-tax propagandist; it was years later when he realized that all his schemes for ameliorating the lot of the poor had failed that he became an ardent missionary for the doctrine of Henry George. His first passion for social reform was lavished upon the *Philadelphia Vacant Land Cultivation Society*, an organization formed to find landowners who were willing to lend their unoccupied, rubbish-heaped lots in the heart of the city for cultivation by workingmen with a taste for gardening. Joseph Fels was the Society's moving spirit. After ten years, with an income of only about $1,300, the Philadelphia Society was able to provide 800 gardens for nearly 4,000 men, women and children, who produced vegetables to the value of $10,400. Applicants for these garden plots were more numerous than at first anticipated. The Society grew steadily in strength and usefulness, and similar

organizations for the cultivation of vacant lots were eventually established in Chicago, Cleveland and New York.

"When Fels came to England in 1901, the plight of the unemployed was desperate. Various social reform movements were under way, among them the use of land to rehabilitate the unemployed. In England Fels saw an even greater need for the cultivation of vacant land by the impoverished workingmen than he had seen in Philadelphia and other American cities. It was natural, therefore, that here too he should become the leader in these experiments. With George Lansbury, leader of the newly formed British Labor Party, and others, Fels founded the *Vacant Lands Cultivation Society* in 1903. He bought a 100-acre tract at Laindon and a 1300-acre estate at Hollesley Bay and endowed the farm colonies there with necessary funds.

"Fels had come to England to establish a branch of his soap manufacturing business and the firm was prospering on both sides of the Atlantic. As head of the firm he attended to business and became wealthy, though not anywhere near as wealthy as was assumed by people who saw him lavishing money on social causes—and on individuals too—in which he believed. But the ideal of social reform through the Single Tax—with which his name was to be primarily associated in later years had not yet infected him. His junior partners were still satisfied that he was giving proper attention to the soap business. Wealthy friends in England were still not regarding him a revolutionary radical who had gone back on his own class; nor was he arousing resentment among friends by his incessant Single Tax propaganda, which they thought a bore.

"Fels heard of Henry George, the economic philosopher who founded the Single Tax movement in America. Henry George was a Christian, though an unorthodox one. Born in Philadelphia of British parentage, he came to the conclusion that the primary social evil of our time was land monopoly, resulting from the private appropriation of land values. The value of land was community-created and therefore belonged to the community. 'We must make land common property' George proclaimed, 'though leaving individuals

in possession of it.' The basic economic remedy lay in taxing land at its full site, or unimproved value, while abolishing taxes on all other things which are the product of individual labor. In his opposition to all forms of monopoly, George also advocated free trade and public ownership of public utilities, though he opposed Socialism as such. Fundamentally, what Henry George preached was a modern application of the economic teachings of Judaism, as stated in the Book of Leviticus: "And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is Mine, for ye are strangers and sojourners with Me." No Jew in modern times was more permeated with this feeling for social justice to be found in the Hebrew Bible than was Henry George. Several years before the appearance in 1879 of his *Progress and Poverty,* the modern Bible of Single taxers, he had delivered the penetrating lecture on Moses before the Y.M.H.A. of San Francisco. It is still read with profit and pleasure.

"George died in 1897 in the midst of his campaign for mayor of New York. His untimely passing at the age of 57 was mourned by Jew and Christian alike and he had the largest funeral New York had seen up to then. George's death was, of course, a great blow to the Single Tax movement which he had made popular by his travels and lectures in England, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand, as well as in the United States. But within less than a decade Joseph Fels assumed the mantle of prophecy and revivified the movement by lavishing his time and most of his money upon it.

"Having founded the British Committee for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, still in existence, Fels travelled to seven countries on the Continent in an attempt to stimulate the Single Tax movement. In Spain the Georgist sympathizers gave him the welcome accorded a prophet, the sort of welcome which only Henry George would have received were he still alive. He toured the length and breadth of the United States and Canada. He worked hard to get a land-value taxation bill passed in the British Parliament in 1909-10, a bill sponsored by David Lloyd-George; it failed to pass because of opposition in the House of Lords.

"'His time was filled with tireless activity,' writes the widow

Mary Fels in the biography of her husband. 'He wrote countless letters, considered schemes of propaganda, visited anyone from whom there was the hope of assistance. He did not hesitate to expose himself to rebuff if he felt that eventually he might be able to effect some good. He even approached Mr. Carnegie twice in a single year, trying, of course vainly, to convince that unsparing philanthropist that his right hand was endeavoring to re-erect what his left hand had destroyed. He attended congresses, meetings, lectures, debates. He sought out the prominent men of any town and attempted their conversion.'

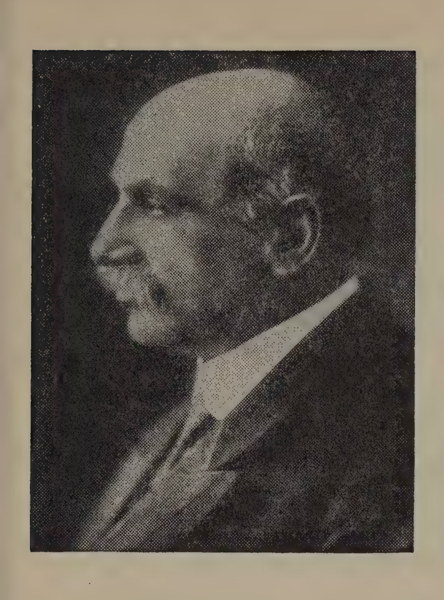
"But while Single Tax became the driving force of his life, Joseph Fels did not forget the special woes inflicted upon the Jewish people. He had adopted a universal economic ideal. Not a member of any synagogue, he regarded his religion as one that is valid for all humanity. Superficially, he might be labelled an assimilated Jew. Yet he was at all times conscious that what he preached was basically an ancient Jewish ideal—the vision and the drive for social justice. Far from trying to hide his Jewish origins, he exhibited pride in his Hebraic cultural heritage even as he strove to make it the ideal for all mankind.

"And so it is no wonder that Joseph Fels for several years before his death, even while immersed in the Single Tax movement, gave much of his time and energy to a purely Jewish undertaking, the movement to find a homeland outside of Palestine for the oppressed Jews of Tsarist Russia. This movement known as Jewish Territorialism was led by the noted British-Jewish author Israel Zangwill. Fels made the acquaintance of Zangwill in London and the two became fast friends. Zangwill's organization was looking for unpopulated places in various parts of the world in which persecuted Jews might be settled and become autonomous. Fels became imbued with the idea of a Jewish territory which he thought could be established quicker and more easily outside of Palestine, a land already peopled by Arabs. He lavished a small fortune upon the Territorialist movement, besides giving it of his time and energy. He helped Zangwill search for territories in North Africa, Angola, Paraguay. In 1907

Fels himself went to Mexico to interview President Diaz on the possibility of settling Jews there, but the project was not carried out. Fels dreamed, of course, that any Jewish territory to be founded would operate on Single Tax principles. But finally, seeing the failure of schemes to establish a Jewish homeland outside of Palestine, he veered toward the Zionist ideal. After his death, Mary Fels contributed large sums to Jewish colonization in Palestine, particularly to the Jewish National Fund for acquiring land.

"Joseph Fels is also remembered in England for the help that he gave to social settlements and to the woman's suffrage movement in the early years of this century. He died in Philadelphia in February, 1914, several months after his return from England and a half-year before the outbreak of World War I. Of his passing Israel Zangwill wrote in the *Voice of Jerusalem*—

" 'It is no small tribute to his fascination that with only a moderate equipment of education, with no graces of breeding and the handicap of a soap business, he was able to attract so many diverse personalities. It was the moral code of the man, the passion of faith, which raised him to equality with them, nay, that made them his inferiors, and sometimes his conscious inferiors. Members of Parliament acknowledged his force and leadership. He had confabulations with Cabinet Ministers. He inspired a band of workers in a dozen countries. . . . Persons who spend huge sums to uplift themselves socially may note with envy at how small a money-price it is possible to become a world figure, if advertisement is the last thing you are thinking of. . . . His death was sadly premature, but in his comparatively brief span he set in motion historic influences, and he saw them begin to modify history.' "



1896

EMIL G. HIRSCH

Philosopher of Religion

MEN OF DISTINCTION often fail to receive due recognition in their lifetime. The passage of time offers, perhaps, a better perspective for evaluating their significance. Yet in the case of Emil Gustave Hirsch the contrary seems to be true. A generation has barely elapsed since he was heralded a top clergyman among all the denominations of America. Today he is already forgotten except among his surviving contemporaries or their immediate descendants. This neglect may possibly be understood by a cursory examination of his career.

If the influences of close associates are contributing factors in shaping ideas or forming convictions then the development of Emil G. Hirsch can be traced to his father Samuel Hirsch, his father-in-law David Einhorn, his brother-in-law Kaufmann Kohler. All three have left an indelible mark on Reform Judaism. Samuel Hirsch, author of a two-volume opus on the philosophy of Judaism, was a theologian of stature among the early Reformists in Germany. The King of Holland appointed him Chief Rabbi of the Duchy of Luxembourg,

where Emil Gustave was born. The father accepted a call from Keneseth Israel Congregation of Philadelphia to fill the vacancy left by David Einhorn when he became Rabbi of Temple Beth El in New York.

Emil Gustave was 15 on arrival in Philadelphia. There he studied at the Episcopal Academy and later at the University of Pennsylvania where he played on the football team and received his A.B. degree at 21. No American institution existed at the time for rabbinical studies, so together with Felix Adler, another son of a rabbi, he left for Europe on a Fellowship from an association of radical reformers. He took post graduate courses at the Universities of Berlin and Leipzig and studied rabbinics at the Hochschule fur die Wissenschaft des Judenthums. With such training no one in America, or in Europe for that matter, was better equipped for the Reform Rabbinate.

Returning to the U.S.A. he preached for short periods in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Rabbi of a Reformed Temple in Louisville for two years, he married the daughter of David Einhorn, the most passionate expounder of Reform in the history of American Jewry. Almost 30 and thoroughly prepared for the cloth, Emil G. Hirsch was called in 1880 to Har Sinai Temple in Chicago. He remained with this congregation, respected and influential among Jews and Christians until his death in 1923.

With Emil G. Hirsch, Reform Judaism swung to its extreme periphery. In a sense he could hardly be considered a religionist. Influenced by the scientific thought of his time, he accepted the theories of Darwin, the findings of archeologists, the conclusions of higher criticism. The Bible he stripped of Divine revelation, its foundational support. He rejected tradition, mysticism, ritual, symbols and ceremonials. Faith, the cornerstone of religion, gave way to reason, and Judaism became a system for social justice, a philosophical way of life, a monotheism of ethical conduct. He went beyond such radical theorists as David Einhorn, Kaufmann Kohler, or his own father when he transferred the Jewish Sabbath to the Christian Sunday.

One can question his belief in a personal God if we consider such Hirsch declarations as: "Nature and God for the Christians are antithetical, never so with Jews. . . . Nature is God. God is Nature. But mind in man is also Nature. . . . For the belief in God is merely the outcome of the belief in man. God is the apex of the pyramid, not the base. Man is the cornerstone; and from the true conception of man have the Jewish thinkers risen to the noblest conception of the Deity."

Fundamentally a social philosopher rather than a theologian in the usually accepted sense, Emil Hirsch used up much of his busy time in secular activities. Belief in federating the disorganized philanthropy in his city led him to help organize the Associated Jewish Charities of Chicago. An advocate of mothers' pensions, he assisted in forming the Home Finding Society for placing children in private homes rather than in orphan homes of religious denominations. He pioneered such innovations as vocational guidance and vocational training and stressed the importance of psychological study of criminals a generation earlier than such practices came into general use. The adjustment of Russian-Jewish refugees became a vital problem. Thus he organized the Jewish Manual Training School before manual training was incorporated into the public school system. He was often called upon to act on the Board of Arbitration to settle labor disputes. Appointed a member of the Chicago Public Library in 1888, he became its president. The newly formed University of Chicago called him in 1892 to the chair of Rabbinic Literature and Philosophy. Much in demand for lectures, he championed many causes, which not being understood were unpopular. Recognition as a prominent citizen came when in 1896 he served as a Presidential Elector-at-Large of Illinois.

No religionist in the conventional sense, and concerned primarily with this world, Emil Hirsch might be charged with insincerity in following the rabbinical calling. Yet there was no inconsistency between his belief and practice. Having rejected miracles, mysteries or supernatural intervention in human affairs, he would naturally be repelled by Christian doctrines such as the Virgin Birth, the

God Incarnate, or salvation of the soul. But in universal Judaism he could find the notions that fitted in with his conception of man and his destiny. After dismissing the Genesis account of creation and the revelation from Sinai, he was completely at home in Biblical Judaism with its silence about future life and the emphasis on righteousness as preached by the prophets. In Judaism he was attracted to the strong insistence on ethics in social conduct, in the relation of man with his fellow man based on morality and justice. As a way of life, Judaism appeared superior to any other religion for its practical and rational approach to the problem of living within the framework of organized society and government. Undisturbed by the deductions of Friedrich Delitzsch in his *Babel and Bibel,* he actually approved of the attempts by scientific critics to divest Holy Writ of Divine authorship. Yet his reverence for the Torah is evident from the following citation:

"Under the higher criticisms this Biblical literature becomes our, Israel's, possession as under no other traditional theory of its cradle and character. It was written with Israel's own heart blood. As the silkworm spins the cocoon from the reservoir of its own life element, so did Judaism write the Biblical documents by transfusion of its spiritual life. Every page of that collection is vocal with the struggle waged in and through Israel for the highest truth. The Pentateuch is now a monument to the aspirations of the prophets and priests through centuries. It is an exposition of Israel's gradual finding of its own inner self, its destiny and distinction. It is not a mechanically imposed law but an organic expression of the life which pulsated within. As among all nations so also in Israel, this process of self-discovery and self-realization was activized in intense degree in the great men of the nation. In them the soul of the people found its noblest, clearest articulation. Israel's great men are named Prophets—not soothsayers but truthsayers—souls aflame with the passion of righteousness and social justice, heroes impressed with the certainty that justice is central in the all, and therefore heralds of the Messianic destiny of mankind, martyr and priest of which Israel was called to be. Whence to these men this fire?

'Higher Criticism' cannot explain, it humbly registers the fact. The fact speaks of revelation in as impressive and awful a voice as ever was heard at the foot of smoke-encircled, quaking, thundering Sinai. None of the pillars on which religion rests her altar is weakened by the new method of classifying the contents of Biblical literature."

Darwin's theory of evolution, which teaches that man is descended from the ape and from even lower forms of life, brought unease and resentment to the religious world. Suddenly the human being, created in the image of God, faced another banishment from Eden. The divine creature somewhat inferior to the angels was threatened with the loss of his position in the center of the universe and degraded to the rank of beast. But this concept did not faze Emil Hirsch. In evolution he saw the best evidence of progress. If man has developed from the ape then it is staggering to imagine how far he will go. The figure of Nietzsche's superman comes into view. The optimistic notion of progress fascinated Hirsch. He applied it to religion. To him Judaism appeared the highest and most universal of all religions. Yet it has to transcend itself. For Judaism is but a phase through which humanity must pass in its progress to a higher and nobler plane. The consummation devoutly to be wished will come about when the world will reach a stage of development which will make Judaism unnecessary. Thus the ideal millennium will have arrived when Judaism will no longer exist.

This optimism determined Hirsch's negative attitude towards Zionism. With the benefit of our hindsight after the cataclysmic shocks that brought savagery back in the last half century, it might appear strange why Emil Hirsch and his colleagues should have been blinded by Victorian confidence in progress. Yet it would seem that as Jews they might have paid attention to the shadows that presaged coming events. Zionists could sense the sinister meanings in German racist theories, in Russian barbarism, in Nietzsche's glorification of brute force, in the French anti-Dreyfusards, in Wagner's injection of Judeophobia into the creative-artistic world. Emil Hirsch and the Reformers rejected the need for a Jewish State on the ground that anti-Semitism would disappear in the near future. Of

course they also had ideological objections; Jews were not a nation or race, and as a religious group they had a *mission* to perform.

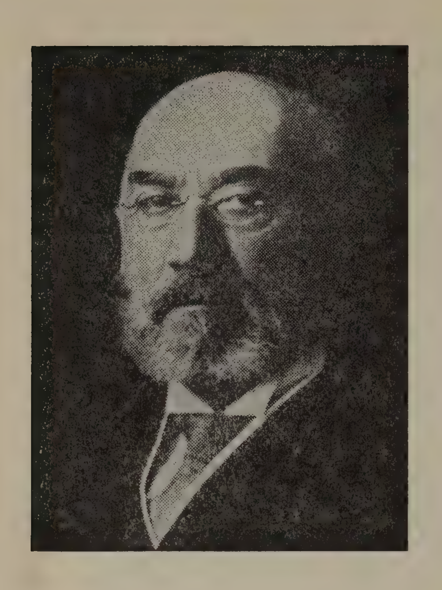
Mission of Israel! A variant for the Mosaic designation of Jews as the Chosen People—an odd conclusion for Emil G. Hirsch, who rejected Divine inspiration of the Torah, which proclaimed Israel selected and favored to be a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. The doctrine of Israel's mission is perhaps the only positive affirmation of Reform among its many negations of Orthodox dogma and practice. Possibly Reform felt the necessity of combating the aggressive character of Zionist nationalism with a positive doctrine of its own.

In any event the skeptical iconoclast, Emil G. Hirsch, proclaimed the mission of Israel as a central doctrine in his philosophy of Judaism. He insisted "The Jew by his very presence protests against narrow nationalism. . . . and is an irritant that brings forever and ever to the conscience of the people their shortcomings. This is the source of the hatred against the Jew." The mission idea dominated Hirsch's basic antagonism to Zionism, which he claimed aspired only to save the Jew from misery and poverty. But the Jew must find a greater purpose than material comfort. He had the obligation to work for a spiritual Zion, for a unified world of justice and righteousness, even if he is paid with suffering, oppression and persecution. The mission of Israel is its Messianic destiny to bring universal harmony that will unite men under one religion of justice, truth and peace.

More radical perhaps than his colleagues, Emil Hirsch nevertheless hardly departed from the Reform tenets laid down in the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885. Nor were his ideas more original than those of his contemporaries. But his impact on his generation was stronger. This was partly due to his forceful personality, his earnest oratory, his extensive learning, his fearless advocacy of causes that he considered important. No rabbi of his time made a stronger impression as a civic leader; his labors for the general welfare made him a power in Chicago. Among the first to stress interfaith relations, he virtually constituted a one-man Council of Christians and Jews.

He ended the reticence of Jews towards participating in religious discussions with Gentiles when he took a leading part in the Parliament of Religions that met during the Chicago World's Fair. For the first time, Judaism was able to set forth on a world stage its doctrines and its message on an equal footing with other religions. In his interpretations of Judaism to Christians he proved a veritable apostle to the Gentiles. He edited the Biblical department of the Jewish Encyclopedia published in 1904, which also contains a number of his most scholarly articles. Yet unlike his father, who completed his most important philosophic work at 27, he did not write a single book. For information as to his philosophic ideas, his religious principles, his general attitude towards life and society, one must consult such sermons as were written down after delivery, or peruse the columns of the *Reform Advocate,* a weekly he edited from 1891 to his death in 1923.

Yet in spite of unquestionable talents, wide and deep scholarship, secular and religious labors, Emil Gustave Hirsch left little that exerts influence on posterity. His contributions were confined to his own generation. His extreme opinions are no longer in favor. Today Reform Judaism has receded from the radical program adopted in 1885 at Pittsburgh.



1897

ISIDOR STRAUS

Macy's Department Store

The film *Titanic* and more recently the book *A Night to Remember,* by Walter Lord, has brought back vivid recollections of the strange sea tragedy occasioned by a floating iceberg that struck the newly built and up-to-the-minute equipped White Star Liner on her maiden crossing of the Atlantic. Book and picture recall how prominently the news featured the 67-year-old Isidor Straus refusing to enter a lifeboat while women remained on the sinking ship. Mrs. Straus would not leave her husband, and both went down on the *Titanic* with the band playing, according to the legend, *Nearer My God to Thee.*

The three remarkable Straus brothers: Isidor, Nathan, and Oscar were of distinguished ancestry. Their great-grandfather, a member of the Sanhedrin convened in Paris in 1806 by the Emperor Napoleon, played an important part in the leadership of that unique assembly. Their father was active in the Revolution of 1848 that sought to establish democratic rights in Germany. The effort failed and in

1852 Lazarus Straus, together with other noted liberals, emigrated and later brought his family to Talbotton, Ga.

The income of a small general merchandise store enabled the family to live frugally. The three boys obtained the best education available for money in Georgia's hinterland. The Civil War started and Isidor became lieutenant of a juvenile company, which applied for service in the State Militia. The Governor rejected their request with the statement that there was not sufficient arms for the able-bodied men already in uniform.

Lazarus Straus wanted further education for his son Isidor, but due to the war most schools and colleges in the State were closed. Isidor, 17-years-old, tried to enter the Georgia Military College, and while waiting to see the proper authority he was invited by one of the students to visit his living quarters on the campus. On pushing the slightly ajar door, he was drenched to the skin by water out of a bucket suspended above. Unfamiliar with hazing customs and in no mood for practical jokes, Isidor decided not to matriculate but follow his bent for business. Hiring a buggy and driver, he visited a mill several miles away and contracted for future delivery of an order of its grain. The next day he sold the contract in Atlanta. Returning home to Talbotton, he brought a round sum of $1200 earned during the two-weeks' absence. Disappointed, Lazarus Straus consoled himself with the thought that his son was a born business man. The $1200 came in handy when Isidor accepted the secretaryship of a commission to buy supplies for the Confederacy. Sailing from Charleston, he ran the hazards of the blockade until the boat reached Havana. Unable to ship directly for England, he boarded a Federal steamer for New York, a dangerous chance for a Southerner to take during the Civil War. He re-embarked and reached England.

Meanwhile the South was beginning to feel the pinch of war. The blockade prevented the inflow of necessities. Prices were rising and the plain people blamed the shopkeepers instead of the scarcity. Merchants in the port cities sensing the coming shortage sent their agents to buy up the stocks at good prices from country stores. Several months later this incensed the rural population as unfair specu-

lation in war times. Since Jews were identified in the public mind with storekeeping, anti-Semitic feeling began to mount. Yellow newspapers and demagogues like Henry S. Foote of the Confederate Congress found a convenient scapegoat. Anti-Jewish rantings were heard for the first time in the South.

The family of Lazarus Straus, the only Jews in Talbotton, thought they stood well with their townsmen. Preachers often dined at their home and would discuss with Lazarus Straus, who knew Hebrew, some obscure passages in the Old Testament. Consequently he was astonished to hear that the Grand Jury in its presentment condemned Jewish merchants for evil and unpatriotic conduct. Lazarus Straus, the only Jewish storekeeper in the county, conscious of conducting his business with scrupulous honesty, was deeply hurt. Sensitive and not without culture, he determined to leave Talbotton. Immediately the residents came in numbers and tried to persuade him to stay. Each member of the Grand Jury assured him that they meant no reflection upon his religion or *his* business ethics. Every minister in the town pleaded with him to change his mind. Lazarus Straus was adamant and moved his business and his family to Columbus, Ga. in 1863. In his Memoirs, Isidor Straus relates that residents of Talbotton who had never traded with his father would come to buy at his store in Columbus.

In England Isidor met his commission chief, but the commision soon found that bales of cotton scattered throughout the blockaded South were not adequate collateral for purchasing supplies in a faraway country. Mr. Bowers had to return for better arrangements and suggested that Isidor visit his grandfather in Germany and then wait for instructions. Meanwhile Isidor went to work for a New Orleans broker who dealt in Southern securities. This job did not last, but he learned of many Confederate bonds for sale in England. After close investigation, he located the purchasers for such bonds in Amsterdam. In a short time Isidor made £3000 sterling, which in Confederate money added up to a fortune. The Confederate commission did not return. So he secured another position with an English firm running ships through the blockade, and

the 19-year-old boy was sent on important missions in Cologne, Halifax, New York and Havana. He collected a $5000 defaulted debt given up for lost and advised his employers to sell their ships in Havana, since it had become impossible to reach the Southern ports.

The war ended and Isidor returned. In spite of a bad loss in Amsterdam due to a good tip on a stock transaction that went sour, he still could show $12,000 in gold. In New York he learned to his surprise that the family were in Philadelphia. Lazarus had suffered when the Federal troops entered Columbus and therefore decided to go North. His means were slender, since his money was tied up in cotton which could not be moved because of the badly disorganized condition of the South. By the time his cotton reached New York, high prices had declined sharply. Isidor decided to go into partnership with his father but insisted on New York rather than Philadelphia, his father's choice, as the place for business. He spent most of his cash in buying a home for his mother.

Lazarus Straus went to his creditors to clear up obligations contracted before the war began. They were amazed at the honesty of a Jewish merchant from the South ready to pay debts outlawed by the statute of limitations. The head of George Bliss and Co. questioned Straus about his age, his intentions, his means. Learning that the 57-year-old merchant had little money left to make a new start, he suggested payment of one-third of the debt and the balance in two and three years. Twenty years later when Isidor applied to the United States Trust Co. for a loan of $500,000 to purchase an interest in the firm of Abraham and Straus in Brooklyn, George Bliss now on the board of directors, said: "Well, if the old man is still in the firm he is good for anything to which he will put his name."

Cauldwell's crockery firm had forgotten all about an order shipped to Talbotton, Ga. before the shelling of Fort Sumter. They had to dig up the old books packed away in the basement. Payment by Lazarus Straus impressed the owner; it was the only one received out of all his ante-bellum Southern accounts. Occasionally Straus would stop in for a chat. One day Cauldwell offered to sell him the business, presumably on easy terms, since the Straus resources were

meager. A nod from Cauldwell's son enabled Isidor to get a three-year lease on a store, basement and top loft on Chambers St. at $3000 a year. Thus in 1866 began the crockery firm of L. Straus and Son, which also started to import glassware and pottery.

When Nathan Straus completed his studies, he joined the partnership. While on one of his selling rounds, he induced R. H. Macy to allow them to operate the crockery department in his basement. This step proved fateful to the fortunes of the Straus family. In less than a decade they became partners in R. H. Macy and Co., and by 1896 Isidor and Nathan Straus were the sole owners of the business. Under their honest and capable management, Macy's grew into the largest department store in the world. Celebrated for its frank and liberal policies towards the buying public, this emporium achieved a standard for merchandising that has become world famous. No customer ever fears being cheated, overreached or wheedled by high pressure salesmanship. This store has a simple remedy for regrets or mistakes regarding any purchase. The buyer is invited to return whatever article she or he dislikes and get back the money. Since the Straus administration, the name Macy in the business world has for three score years been synonymous with integrity. Macy's carry on with undiminished vigor while their former competitors—A. T. Stewart, or John Wanamaker's—have folded up and disappeared from New York City.

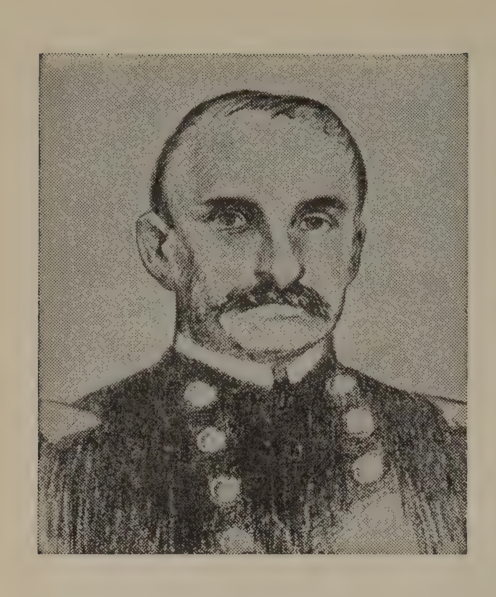
A highly competent business man, Isidor Straus was director of several banks and president of New York's Retail Dry Goods Association and of that City's Crockery Board of Trade. He served as Vice-President of the State Chamber of Commerce, a member of the World Fair Commission in New York and of the original New York and New Jersey Bridge Commission.

Isidor Straus was also interested in politics. A warm friend and admirer of Grover Cleveland, he was active in the presidential campaign of 1892 to reelect him. It is said that President Cleveland offered Straus the Postmaster Generalship. But seeking neither glory nor office, he declined the honor.

The Straus family were Gold Democrats and strongly opposed the

Free Silver Platform. Isidor did not believe a high protective tariff good for the nation. He therefore ran for Congress in 1892 and was elected. Yet he refused to run for a second term. Out of sympathy with the Bryan Democratic leadership on the question of Free Silver, he supported the Republican McKinley's Gold Standard. It was due to the Straus influence that Cleveland called the extra session of Congress in 1893 to repeal the clause in the Sherman Act that ordered the Treasury to buy silver for monetary purposes. Isidor refused the Democratic nomination in 1901 and 1909 for Mayor of New York.

Business and politics were not the only interests to absorb the energies of Isidor Straus. Together with his brothers, he possessed a sense of social obligation to his fellow-men. Vice President of J. Hood Wright Memorial Hospital, he also served as trustee of the Montefiore Home for Chronic Invalids and was on the board of the Birbeck Company to lend out money at low interest. Keenly interested in his coreligionists, he was a founder of the American Jewish Committee. A guarantor, who helped to make possible the publication of the Jewish Encyclopedia, he also contributed liberally to the endowment fund that enabled the reorganization of the Jewish Theological Seminary. He helped to organize the Educational Alliance, "the people's palace" on East Broadway, for a generation the cultural center of the immigrant and native born of New York's Jewish intelligentsia. He served as president of this institution for the Americanization of immigrants from the day of its organization in 1893 until his death on the *Titanic* in 1912.



1898

ADOLPH MARIX

War with Spain

According to historians, the Spanish-American War could have been averted. To prevent hostilities Spain was finally willing to accept all conditions imposed by the United States, even complete independence for Cuba. But American public opinion had been too deeply stirred by Spanish cruelties in Cuba. In retaliation for the destruction of sugar plantations by rebels the Spanish General Weyler rounded up men, women and children in concentration camps where they perished like flies. Horror succeeded horror until American feeling became too outraged for conciliation. The state of the public mind was such that President McKinley did not even bother to inform Congress of Spain's willingness to comply with every American demand. War began on April 25, 1898.

When the President called for volunteers about 5000 Jews enlisted. To many this patriotic response by a group, largely immigrant and not particularly distinguished for military ardor, was a pleasing surprise. The percentage was higher than that of the non-Jewish majority. Yet the reasons were not too obscure. Some who had been unwilling draftees in the armies of Russia, Roumania or

Austria-Hungary readily enlisted, proud to be volunteers in a free country. Many recent comers felt a strong urge to demonstrate gratitude to their new land of equal opportunity.

But the psychological element, not obvious on the surface, was nevertheless a compelling factor. The atrocities in Cuba recalled the terrible cruelties endured by those Jews who in 1492 were expelled from Spain. The Inquisition had left deep scars in the Jewish consciousness. The trauma in the Jewish soul cried out against the flint-hearted bigotry that caused such untold suffering. The Jewish volunteer in the American Army or Navy felt a subconscious urge to avenge wrongs that had formerly been inflicted upon a vast multitude of exiles and martyrs, victims of Spanish fanaticism.

The incident of the *U.S.S. Maine* brought on the war and became its symbol. When the United States battleship was mysteriously blown up in Havana Harbor, American nerves were frayed. "Remember the *Maine*" became the battle cry that called for a resounding defeat of the ruthless, unconscionable enemy. Among the 260 officers and crewmen who went down on the *Maine* were 15 Jewish seamen, a symbolic manifestation of Jewish participation in American destiny, in tragedy or triumph.

A Jewish naval officer was identified with the *Maine* episode. In 1893 Adolph Marix had been assigned to the battleship *Maine* newly launched and the pride of the U. S. Navy. He was First Executive Officer of the *Maine* when transferred several weeks before its explosion in the Cuban harbor, a sheer act of fate. A recognized authority on naval and maritime law, he was appointed a Judge Advocate of the Board to investigate the *Maine* disaster. The Board of Inquiry blamed the Spaniards for the explosion, and the report written by Marix as secretary of the inquiry influenced Congress to declare war on Spain.

Adolph Marix was born in Dresden during the turbulent period of the 1848 revolution. The failure to establish democracy in Europe caused his father to leave Europe with many other liberals. A man of education, Dr. Henry Marix had been professor of languages in Russia and became translator for the U. S. State and

Treasury Departments. During the Civil War, Dr. Marix made a specialty of translating articles from European papers into English for the information of President Lincoln. Acquaintance with the President brought an appointment in 1864 for his 16-year-old son to the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis.

At 20 Adolph graduated with the class of 1868 and remained in the Navy for the next 42 years. The following year he was made ensign and in 1870 transferred to the *U.S.S. Congress* for special duty with an Arctic expedition. Two years later he became a lieutenant, was assigned to the office of the Judge-Advocate-General, and thus acquired the experience that later became useful at the inquiry of the *Maine* explosion. After completing the report on the *Maine,* Adolph Marix was promoted to the rank of Commander and placed in charge of the *U.S.S. Scorpion.* An Act of Congress advanced him two grades for "eminent and conspicuous conduct" in battle during the Spanish-American War. Supervisor of Naval Auxiliaries, he was President of the Board which tried out various types of submarines and selected one of the undersea boats that was accepted by the Navy Department.

At the Philippines, Adolph Marix attracted the friendship of William Howard Taft, then Governor-General. On becoming President, Taft appointed Commander Marix rear admiral, the first Jew to attain what was virtually the highest rank in the U. S. Navy. In 1910 Admiral Marix retired from active duty under the provisions of an Act of Congress, at the same time resigning as chairman of the Board of the Lighthouse, a position he held for a number of years.

In 1919 Admiral Marix died in Gloucester, Mass. at the age of 71 and was buried in the National Cemetery in Arlington, Va. Regarded an individualist of force and character, he made a brilliant career as an officer, quick in decision and a strict disciplinarian. On numerous occasions he served in capacities that required tact and ability; his actions were a credit to the naval service. In private life he conducted himself with quiet, unhurried dignity. A member of the Army and Navy Club, he was also a corresponding secretary of the American Jewish Historical Society. On his retirement from the

Navy, he displayed considerable interest in Jewish communal affairs. He evinced a strong curiosity about the Falashas, the dark-skinned Jews living for many centuries in the mountainous plateau of Abyssinia, now called Ethiopia.

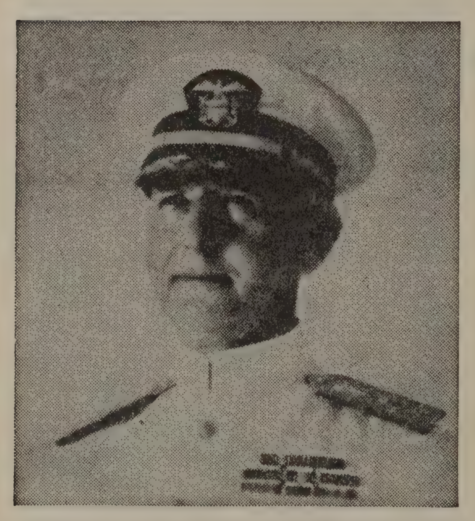
The ten-week war was too short for many promotions or distinctions. Yet other Jewish officers were able to gain experience for more important services in the world war that erupted two decades later. Claude E. Bloch took part in the Battle of Santiago and was decorated for rescuing Spaniards from burning ships. He served in the China Relief Expedition during the Boxer Rebellion; in the First World War he was in command at Plattsburgh of the Naval Transport that carried troops and supplies through the war zone. In 1923 Bloch was made a rear admiral and in 1937 was named Commander of the Battle Force. During 1938-40 he was Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Fleet.

Joseph Strauss also graduated from the U. S. Naval Academy and served during the Spanish-American War in blockading the coast of Cuba. But fame and distinction came in World War I when he commanded the expedition that laid the mine barrage across the North Sea and English Channel, planting 56,571 American mines. He had the task of clearing the North Sea of mines after the war. At least eight submarines were destroyed in the barrage and great damage was inflicted on German morale by the injury to the ships that succeeded in escaping to Germany. In 1918 Joseph Strauss was elevated to the rank of rear admiral. He retired in 1925 but was recalled for active duty in 1928 and 1937. Author of articles on naval artillery, ordinance and ballistics, he invented the superimposed turret for mounting guns on battleships. He received decorations from the U. S. Navy, from Britain, France, China and Japan.

The presence of Jewish volunteers in the ranks was generally felt during the Spanish-American War. Rabbi Krauskopf of Philadelphia was touring Cuba, not in the capacity of military chaplain, but as Field Commissioner for the National Relief Commission, the U.S.O. of the Spanish-American War. General Joseph Wheeler, the former Confederate, asked whether the Rabbi would like to see

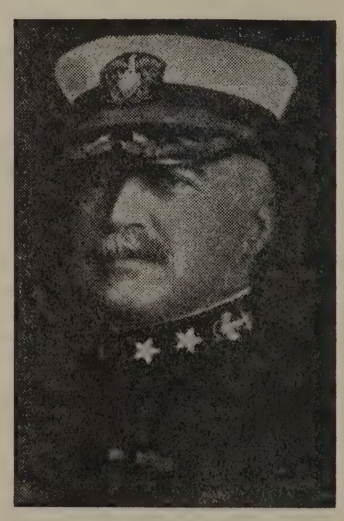
the Jewish boys in his division. "A goodly number of them, as soldierly looking a set of men as one could see" from the different brigades assembled in the General's tent. The Rabbi records in his diary:

"Those of the Rough Riders came accompanied by their colonel, Theodore Roosevelt. He came to tell us personally how proud he was of his Jewish Rough Riders, of whom he had eight. One of them, Sam Greenwald of Prescott, Ariz., had entered April 30th as a private, and has since been promoted by the President, through the recommendation of Col. Roosevelt, to second lieutenant for his gallant and heroic service; for two days and nights he fought alongside his colonel, under the hottest fire, and in the most imminent danger, and never wavered."

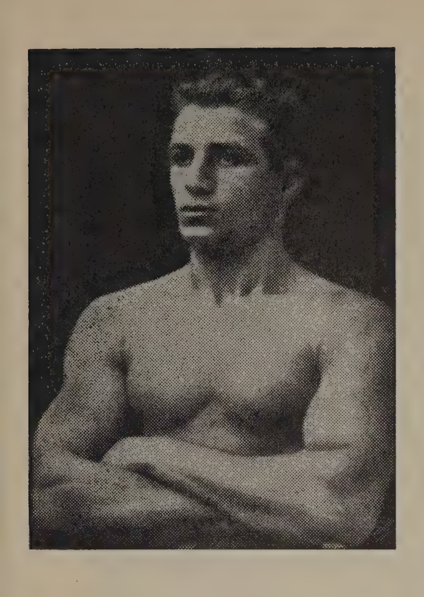




REAR ADMIRAL CLAUDE E. BLOCH.



REAR ADMIRAL JOSEPH STRAUSS.



1899

JOSEPH CHOYNSKI

Prize Fighting

London in the 18th Century was hardly the law-abiding city of today. Thugs might attack, or footpads rob, peaceful citizens in the foggy daytime before the City Watch could intervene. Jews were especially exposed to the assaults of hoodlums, with the police, not over-anxious for a scuffle, often looking the other way. The Jews' only recourse lay in training to become proficient boxers for self-defense.

Of this group Daniel Mendoza soon attracted notice. Not only did he ward off attackers, he thrashed the hooligans unmercifully. Yet he was no towering giant—only 5 feet 7 inches. His punches might even lack the brute force of his assailants, yet he won out against bigger and stronger contenders. Fame came when the 21-year-old *Jew boy* from Whitechapel, the London East End ghetto, met hulking Harry the Coal Heaver and won after a 40-minute battle. Three years later in 1787 on defeating Martin the Bath Butcher, Mendoza's reputation became firmly established as a professional boxer of the first rank. After victory over Bill Warr in 1791 Daniel Mendoza was generally regarded as Champion of England, which then meant the greatest fighter in the world.

There is no proof that the champion's belt was officially awarded to the "Star of Israel." Probably certain "gentlemen boxers" were irked to find their champ an alien, and a non-Christian to boot. One of these "elegant sparrers," Richard Humphries, fought Mendoza three times. In the final bout Humphries lay down in the ring twice for no apparent reason, and the decision went against him. But Gentleman John Jackson, the snobbish boxing instructor of Lord Byron, hit upon a more drastic device. Mendoza, probably vain of his good looks, let his thick hair grow long. *Mister* Jackson and the champion, both excellent boxers in 1795, fought 11 minutes that were long remembered in English sports. Then Jackson, stronger of the two, grabbed Mendoza's long hair, snapped his head down and kept up a barrage with the other hand.

Jackson won, but the fairness of the victory has always been questioned. It was before the Marquis of Queensberry drafted the famous code and no law therefore forbade hair grabbing. Yet the incident is no shining example of English fair play. Evidently Jackson was bothered, for nothing could induce him to fight Mendoza or anyone else again. He retired from the ring and devoted his skill to instructing others. Mendoza continued to box and at 57 fought his last round. He then pursued the course of many prize fighters: he opened a *pub* (bar) *The Admiral Nelson* in Whitechapel and died at the age of 73 years in 1836.

Daniel Mendoza left his mark by developing boxing as a science. In his day, boxers were generally iron-muscled brutes to whom prize fighting meant slugging it out until one contestant fell from sheer exhaustion. Mendoza had to overcome his lack of superior strength and weight by perfecting a technique that would give him advantage over taller, larger and more powerful adversaries. With him began the era of scientific boxing, of rapid foot work, quick thinking and precise sparring. He could strike more often and step with greater dexterity than his colleagues. Not only did he revolutionize boxing put he popularized the science as the more manly art of self defense than knifing or shooting.

In England a group of lesser Jewish boxers emulated Mendoza

without attaining his renown. In the U.S.A. the first Jewish fighter to receive acclaim was Joseph Choynski, born 1868 in San Francisco. His father ran a little store that sold Hebrew prayer books and ritual objects. In the same city lived Patrick J. Corbett, an undertaker and livery stable keeper, who found consolation when his son James J. became a bank teller after the disappointment of not seeing him a priest. But to the young Corbetts, brother Jim was the hero of all boxers. A Corbett lad worked in the City Hall together with a Choynski who was equally proud of his brother Joe's fighting prowess. The Jewish and Irish boys argued about their brothers' pugilistic attainments until the feud spread to their families. As a result, it seems that 16-year-old Joe Choynski and Jim Corbett, two years his senior, did have a grudge fight which was over in one or two rounds. But that was merely the prelude to a combat that assumed epic proportions.

About four years later Choynski met Corbett on a pier near Fairfax, California, and after four rounds the police stopped the fight. Six days later the two resumed battle on a barge anchored in Carquinez Strait. It was still a grudge fight. No box office sold tickets for a purse to divide proportionally between winner and loser. The onlookers were partisans of both contenders. The future champ described the bout to ring historian Nat Fleisher, who reproduced the conversation in his *Gentleman Jim, The Story of James J. Corbett:*

"I never dreamed as I waited for Referee Hogan to send us into action that I would receive more punishment than I would absorb in any subsequent battle. . . . A sturdier, more determined chap than Joe never stepped under the ropes, and that day he was at his best. . . . I kept on jabbing but Joe never slowed up. . . . Choynski was really stronger physically and could hit harder. I was taller and had a weight advantage, 178 to 170. . . . We were bitter rivals, enemies. . . . There was never such a perfect set up for the working off of a personal grudge.

"And so the fight went on at a terrible speed, round after round. . . . If I hadn't been right in the pink of fine condition, I could never have lasted out the 14th round. . . . You might say that it

was anybody's fight from the 11th to the 24th round. . . . In the 28th frame, which proved to be the finale, I could do little but hit with my arms and forearms for both of my hands were out of commission. . . . So I determined to let one desperate wallop go with the left, in a dying end to finish up matters.

"As luck had it, I got that punch home. I crashed squarely on Joe's jaw, over he reeled, and lay prostrate. I stood like a man in a dream while Referee Hogan counted him out. . . . I was dazed when I collected my senses, so much so, that I asked Billy Delaney who was at my side, what had happened. 'You knocked him out, Jim,' said Delaney exultingly."

Years later when Delaney, who managed Corbett and subsequently Jim Jeffries, was asked which was the hardest battle he ever saw, Bill replied: "The fight between Corbett and Choynski. For cleverness, endurance and gameness displayed, I've never seen its equal."

One might say that Joe missed the heavyweight championship by a hair's breadth. While the battle itself was unheralded, the knockout resounded far and wide and raised Corbett's stature. Had Choynski won, he instead of Jim Corbett would three years later have been the logical challenger of John L. Sullivan. He could certainly have knocked out the famous champ who had become fat and fatuous. Joe Choynski might have missed the title but he is counted in that distinguished band of heavyweights who made the roaring 1890's the golden age of great boxing. Neither before nor since has there at one time been such a galaxy of top fighters as John L. Sullivan, Jake Kilrain, Charlie Mitchell, Jim Corbett, Bob Fitzsimmons, Jim Jeffries, Peter Jackson and Jack Johnson. Choynski fought the best of them and acquitted himself with distinction.

In 1894 Joe met Bob Fitzsimmons in a five-round exhibition and knocked him down. After a count of eight Bob arose and managed to hold out for the remainder of the rounds. There was no decision for either side. In 1901 Choynski knocked out Jack Johnson in three rounds, the only time Jack had met such a defeat until he lost the title to Jess Willard in 1915.

But the greatest test for Joe came in 1896 when he met Jim Jeffries in a ten-round contest. In the opinion of many competent authorities Jeffries was the greatest of all heavyweights. The giant boilermaker measured 6½ feet and weighed 206 pounds. His bulging muscles of steel did not retard rapid foot-work nor impede his rapier thrusts from left or right fist. Each punch went forth with the force of dynamite. No wonder he retired undefeated. Jeffries knocked out all opponents until no one remained to oppose him. Yet he met his match in Joe Choynski, even if he was taller and 47 pounds heavier. Devotees of the prize ring always spoke with bated breath of the duel they witnessed. It was scientific boxing at its best. The judges could only pronounce the struggle a draw. But this combat stamps Joe Choynski among the great fighters of all time.

Generally Jews are not credited with excelling in contact sports. It is probably true that intellectual competition has greater appeal. Yet Jewish participation in boxing is by no means negligible. In fact it is quite large percentage-wise, perhaps the largest of any minority group in the U.S.A. excepting the pugnacious Irish. Beginning with Abe Attell in 1908, the Universal Jewish Encyclopedia lists 23 world championships that embrace bantamweights, welterweights, lightweights, middleweights and other classifications. This group includes Max Baer, the heavyweight who sewed a *Star of David* on his trunks to defeat the Nazi Schmeling during the Hitler mania. This assumption is challenged in *The Jew in American Sports* by Harold U. Ribalow, who questions the Jewishness of both Baer's parents.

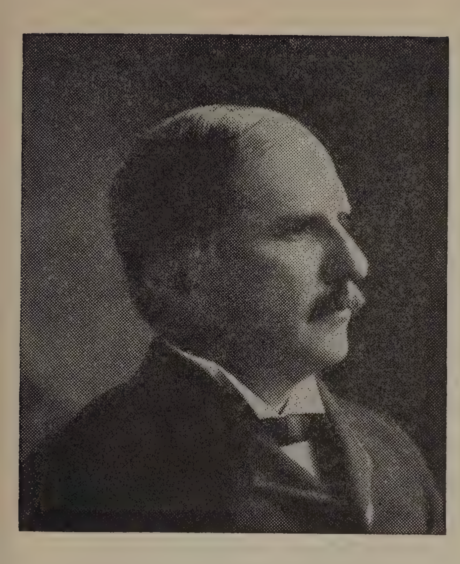
If we rule out Max Baer there were no heavyweight Jewish champions except Mendoza. In fact there were no Jewish heavyweights at all outside of Joe Choynski. But from the middleweight category downward they did produce some excellent fighters. Barney Ross was lightweight and welterweight champion at the same time. In World War II he joined the Marines and showed his stamina in the ring at Guadalcanal. On returning from the Far East broken-up, malaria-ridden and bullet-scarred, he was too sick to receive the Government award in person. His wife accepted his Service Cross from Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

But the best-liked boxer, in fact the most popular of all Jewish athletes, was Benny Leonard, lightweight champion for seven years. He became a legend and ranks with Joe Gans as the greatest of lightweights. A commissioned Lietenant in the First World War, he instructed in bayonet and hand-to-hand fighting. After retiring from the ring undefeated in 1924, he was instructor in scientific boxing at the College of the City of New York, then became a radio commentator for sports. Benny Leonard demonstrated that a prize-fighter could lead a clean honorable life and be a credit to the profession as well as to his people.

Some readers may question the propriety of including prize-fighters in this series. But they should not overlook the truism that any individual or group might perform an important function in the historic process. The historian Joseph Jacobs remarks: "When the Englishmen of the lower classes found themselves beaten at their own peculiar sport by the heretofore despised Jew, a certain amount of sympathy was aroused; and there can be no doubt that the changed attitude of the populace toward Jews between 1753 and 1829 was due in some measure to the succession of champion Jewish boxers." Arthur Brisbane, the famous editor and columnist wrote: "Benny Leonard has done more to conquer anti-Semitism than a thousand text books have done."



FIGHT BETWEEN JOE CHOYNSKI AND JAMES J. JEFFRIES.



1900

SENATOR ISIDOR RAYNER

And Colleagues

Seldom is a Jewish personality suggested for President of the United States. It happened in 1912 during the Democratic Convention at Baltimore. The split in the G.O.P. between Theodore Roosevelt and William H. Taft made the election of the Democratic nominee look quite certain. While the nomination continued a deadlock during those sweltering midsummer weeks, no less a paladin than William Jennings Bryan, thrice standard bearer for the Democratic party and leader of Christian Fundamentalism, proposed the U. S. Senator from Maryland, Isidor Rayner, as candidate for President. This was duplicated in the following generation by the professional scoffer and penetrating critic Henry L. Mencken, no great friend of Jews, who in a serious moment suggested Justice Brandeis as eminently fitted for the Presidency.

The father of Isidor Rayner emigrated from Bavaria in 1838 and was offered the job of Hebrew teacher in New York's old synagogue on Henry Street. Instead, William Solomon Rayner went to Baltimore, engaged in business, and retired in 1857. He helped organize Har Sinai Synagogue and remained active for the rest of his

days in general civic affairs and Jewish communal life of Baltimore. His son was born in 1850 and attended the Universities of Maryland and Virginia. Admitted to the bar at 21, success was rapid and his rise steady.

When 28 Isidor Rayner entered politics and remained active in public affairs all his life. Elected to the Maryland General Assembly, he served for three terms and headed the important Judiciary Committee as chairman. In 1885 he was elected to the State Senate but resigned in mid-term to run for Congress. He represented the 4th District of Maryland for three terms, then declined the nomination for a fourth term. As Congressman his support of President Cleveland was notable. He took a conspicuous part in repealing the Sherman Silver Act. His most important activity in the House began with advocating the direct election of United States senators by the people instead of in the state legislatures. This required an amendment to the Federal Constitution, a slow process since it needed a two-thirds vote in both Houses of Congress and a three-fourths vote by the states. He lived to see the constitutional amendment finally adopted and died six months later.

An inquiry that grew out of the Spanish-American War proved an important stepping-stone in Rayner's career and gave him national prominence. The controversy arose between Rear Admirals Winfield S. Schley and William T. Sampson as to who could claim credit for the victory in Santiago Harbor. Official opinion in the Navy backed the cold, efficient, methodical Sampson. But popular favor supported warm and outspoken Schley, whose friendly manner and bluff sailor talk appealed to the general public. The heated partisanship led to a Court of Inquiry presided over by Admiral George Dewey, hero of Manila Bay. Rayner, then Attorney General of Maryland, was appointed assistant counsel for Admiral Schley, but with the death of Judge Wilson he became senior counsel. Investigating the conduct of war heroes attracted nation-wide attention. Rayner's five hour speech, reported by the press, created much comment; its peroration became a classic to his admirers. Warned that he was working too hard on the case, Rayner declared: "I will

be willing to give my health if I can clear the Admiral and vindicate him from these charges."

The voters wished to run Isidor Rayner for Governor. But he withdrew, much to the disappointment of many who charged him with lack of political courage. From 1899 to 1903 he served as Attorney General of Maryland. The Schley-Sampson inquiry made him a national figure and gave him the confidence to run for the U. S. Senate. But he had to buck a powerful political machine, which dominated the Democratic party in Maryland. As "candidate before the people" he had to overthrow Senator Gorman's ring, and the fight held the interest of people all over the country. He won and the victory gave him prestige, far greater than usually enjoyed by the average newly elected junior Senator.

Incidental to the contest with the Gorman machine was his successful fight against an attempt to disfranchise the Negro. The plan known as the Poe Amendment was fathered by Senator Gorman. Rayner issued a blast which used up almost a full page in the *Baltimore Sun*. He declared that this amendment could disfranchise his own father, a Jewish immigrant from Germany, had he come after 1869, and even the Senator himself unless he passed "a satisfactory Constitutional examination, conducted, perhaps, by some unconvicted felon in a register's box."

Violently opposed to the big stick policies of Theodore Roosevelt, Senator Rayner fought what seemed to many the Republican trend towards imperialism resulting from the Spanish-American War. In his maiden speech he charged that "it was never intended that we should assume a protectorate, political or financial, over the islands of the Caribbean or the Latin-American republics." In the same speech he asked for aid to the persecuted Jews in Russia and urged "a demand upon the barbarous Prince to grant these people their rights or no longer be allowed to maintain contact or intercourse with civilized governments."

The seven years in the Senate marked the climax of his career. A stalwart Democrat, he stood out as defender of the Constitution against the centralization of the Federal Government. He challenged

Roosevelt's right to make treaties without the consent of the Senate by simply using the device of Executive agreements. He defended State rights and the judicial process that functions under Constitutional government. He fought Senators Aldrich and Allison in their policy of a protective tariff instead of one for revenue. He kept himself informed on international as well as domestic issues, and as a member of the minority party he exerted influence on American foreign policy. While not a profound thinker, he showed brilliance and spoke far better than he wrote. A leading Senator in the Democratic party, he refused on two occasions to let his name be placed in nomination for the Vice Presidency. Several months before the Democrats took over the Federal Administration in 1913, death cut short his career at its meridian. Isidor Rayner was mentioned for a post in Woodrow Wilson's cabinet, possibly Secretary of State.

To the funeral in the Senator's home at Baltimore came President Taft and members of his Cabinet. Others attended the service, including Justices of the U. S. Supreme Court, members of the Diplomatic Corps, Senators and Congressmen. Both the Unitarian Chaplain of the Senate, who was Taft's minister, and the pastor of Washington's Church of the Covenant officiated at the funeral. Isidor Rayner was buried in a Christian cemetery. This gave rise to the impression that he abandoned his ancestral faith. That was not true, since he always remained a member of the Har Sinai Congregation, of which his father was a founder.

When 21 Rayner had married out of the faith. His son was reared a Christian. The Christian service and burial were no doubt ordered by his widow and son. Indifferent to the Jewish or any other religion, he was perhaps also indifferent to the form or place of his burial. He did not show the animosity generally displayed by the average Jewish apostate. Instead he came forward as a champion for the Jewish persecuted. One of the leaders in the Senate, he worked diligently to abrogate the 1832 treaty with Russia because of discrimination towards American citizens of Jewish faith. Perhaps lukewarm to Judaism, nevertheless Senator Isidor Rayner was a dis-

tinguished American whose achievements reflect honor upon his Jewish kinsmen.

On the Republican side sat his Jewish colleague, Simon Guggenheim, the Senator from Colorado. One of the seven capable Guggenheim brothers, Simon was elected in 1907 and served until 1913. But his business interests were too demanding for him to seek a second term. Besides his capacities were not political. For a conservative Republican of the Old Guard that sustained President Taft he showed some liberal leanings in voting for the Democratic amendment that brought about the direct election of U. S. Senators. He favored such progressive legislation as the creation of a Children's Bureau. At home he showed interest in higher education by building and equipping a structure for the Colorado State School of Mines. He also contributed a Law building for the State University, one for the Agricultural College, another for the College of Education.

Actually he was more philanthropist than businessman, even though he directed the Philadelphia Smelting and Refining Company as President besides serving on boards of corporations. His benefactions included gifts to the Hebrew Union College, Denver Jewish Hospital, the Jewish Theological Seminary and Mt. Sinai Hospital of New York. His greatest endowment was created in memory of his son who died prematurely. The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation grants fellowships to scholars, scientists, artists and writers of any race or religion, color or sex. Its fund exceeds $7,000,000 and contributes to the cultural life of North and South America.

A sharp contrast to Senator Guggenheim the capitalist was Victor L. Berger, the first Socialist to sit in the House of Representatives. Berger came over from Austria-Hungary in 1878 and worked in Milwaukee as a metal polisher, then taught for a number of years in the public schools. An ardent Socialist all his life, he edited the *Milwaukee Daily Forwärtz* and helped to found the Social Democratic Party. For a number of years he was associated with Eugene

V. Debs and supported his candidacy every time he ran for President of the United States. He edited other Socialist papers and ran for office three times without success until finally elected Alderman of Milwaukee, which had the strongest Socialist organization in the country, mainly due to his efforts.

In 1911 Victor Berger was elected to Congress and served out the term. Again he was elected in 1918 and 1920; yet both times he was not seated on account of his active opposition to the American entry and participation in the war. Far more serious was the indictment for disloyalty on charges of giving aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war. Sentenced to 20 years in 1919 he appealed, and the U. S. Supreme Court in 1921 set aside the conviction. The following year he was reelected, and he retained the Congressional seat until his death in 1929. Socialist principles did not enhance his popularity during a trying period. Nevertheless he was respected for honest adherence to the social and political philosophy that he expressed with the clarity derived from profound knowledge.

Different from Victor Berger the Socialist was the Republican Congressman Julius Kahn, who represented a district in California for 24 years. Born in Germany, he was brought to San Francisco when five years old and at 19 became an actor. He must have displayed talent to appear with such eminent stars as Edwin Booth, Clara Morris and Joseph Jefferson. After ten years on the stage he decided to study law. Two years later he was elected to the General Assembly and upon completing the term was admitted to the Bar. When 37 Kahn won the Congressional seat which he retained, with the exception of one term, until he died in 1924.

A staunch Republican, yet he favored the foreign policy of Woodrow Wilson and gave conspicuous support to the war effort under Democratic direction. His outstanding public services were in the House Committe on Military Affairs, especially in 1917 when he worked for the passage of the Selective Service Act, a controversial measure without a firm tradition in the nation's history. In Jewish activities he was no stranger like Victor Berger or Senator Rayner;

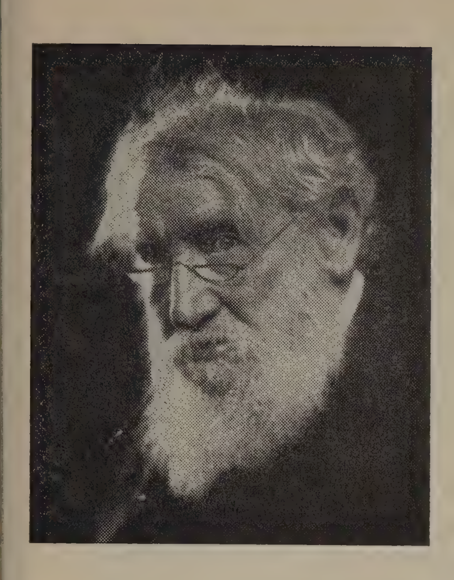
he remained a member of the Reform Temple and even helped to promote Jewish education on the Pacific Coast. Yet he showed a basic reactionary spirit when he cabled Woodrow Wilson at the Peace Conference in Versailles protesting against the formation of a Jewish State. Favoring a clause for Universal Religious Liberty in the Covenant of the League of Nations was preaching a text to a world already converted.

A more conventional type of politician was Henry Mayer Goldfogle who was born in 1865 in New York City. Admitted to the Bar in 1877 he threw his lot in with Tammany Hall and was rewarded a judgeship on the Municipal Court from 1888 to 1900. For his loyalty the Wigwam elected him to Congress and he served from 1901-1915. After completing his last term from 1919 to 1921, Tammany did not let its faithful servitor down. Henry Goldfogle was made president of the Board of Taxes and Assessments for the Borough of Manhattan, which post he held until his death in 1929. In Congress his most important labors revolved around controversy with Russia about recognizing the passports of American-Jewish citizens. The issue was closed in 1912 when the treaty with Russia was abrogated by the United States Government.

Congressman Adolph J. Sabath enjoyed a unique distinction. He held the office for 45 years and served continuously from 1907 to 1952, the longest period of any Congressman in American history. Born in Bohemia, he settled in Chicago in 1881 and became a lawyer ten years later when thirty years old. He attracted the attention of Peter Altgeld, the Governor of Illinois famous as a fighting liberal, and received the appointment of Justice of the Peace. Six years later he became Police Magistrate.

Always a Democrat, Sabath belonged to the liberal wing in Congress and labored for such necessary legislation as the *Pure Food and Drug Act*. On the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization he fought valiantly against proposed restrictions on the entry of immigrants. A fervent admirer of Woodrow Wilson he was able to exert a strong influence on minority groups of foreign birth and

rallied them to the Allied cause during the First World War. He became a strong advocate for the League of Nations. The period of his greatest power came during the New Deal era while chairman of the all-powerful *House Rules Committee*. His robust liberalism endeared him to Franklin D. Roosevelt. Adolph Joachim Sabath always displayed a strong interest in Jewish communal matters and was particularly active in B'nai B'rith.



1901

SOLOMON SCHECHTER

Catholic Israel

AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY Reform Judaism seemed to have triumphed all along the line. Its rabbis spoke with confident decorum for American Jewry. The professionals and the bigger business men, with rare exceptions, attended the fashionable Temples. Leadership and spokesmen, excepting certain eminent Philadelphians such as Cyrus Adler, Mayer Sulzberger and Moses Aaron Dropsie, were confined to the Reform segment which seemed to take on a sectarian hegemony. Orthodoxy, restricted chiefly to refugees out of Russia, was humbly on the defensive. But a newcomer from England, originally of Roumania, would soon start the reverse process by challenging the fundamental principles of Reform.

A sage steeped in rabbinical lore, Solomon Schechter was also a 19th century scholar with extensive knowledge of theology, of English literature, of German Biblical criticism. In contrast to the scientific agnostics of his day, he possessed an abiding faith in the Torah. Fervent love for Jews and Judaism probably stemmed from a Hassidic background. His father, a shochet, a scholar, Russian born and settled in Roumania, belonged to the Shneur Zalman group of Has-

sidim who cultivated learning, a practice generally neglected by the run of the mill followers of Israel Baal Shem Tov.

Under the direction of his pious father the boy could read Hebrew at three and knew the Five Books of Moses when five years old. At ten he already attended the Yeshiva grappling with the dialectics of the Talmud. On reaching 13 he was sent to the large city of Lemberg to study under one of the highest Talmudical authorities of the day. A year later he returned bringing a diploma which attested to his remarkable originality and assiduity. During the next decade he continued to delve deeply into the wide field of rabbinic literature.

For 26 years Schechter had lived in a semi-medieval ghetto, devoting full time to Judaic studies. Aware of the need for learning something about the modern world, he took a step which had disillusioned many gifted Yeshiva students and detached them from their moorings. He went to Vienna in 1875, a center of European culture and Jewish cosmopolitanism, and became magnitized by the culture and ways of the attractive new world. Now in retrospect he could see the fanatic seclusion of the Hassidim and he wrote anonymously a stinging satire on the decadence of Hassidic life since its pristine springtime in the 18th century. Yet he did not lose his bearings. This was due largely to innate strength of character, deep attachment to Jewish tradition and the warmth of his Hassidic temperament. Besides absorbing secular education and a modern *weltanshauung,* he learned from highly capable instructors how to blend old-fashioned Talmudic learning with up-to-date methods of scholarship.

In Vienna, Schechter was ordained for the Rabbinate. He had delayed the *smicha* because he felt temperamentally unfitted for the cloth. But at 30 one has to find a means of livelihood. The certificate lauds his high moral character and wide range of learning. Yet he never accepted a rabbinical post. For him it was an easy transition from Vienna to Berlin where he came in contact with outstanding scholars, including the great bibliographer, Steinschneider. Claude G. Montefiore, a member of England's aristocratic family of wealth and culture, had come to attend the Hochschule fur die Wissen-

schaft des Judentums. He wished to continue similar studies at home, and Berlin's Rabbi Frankl recommended Schechter as equal to the entire faculty of the Hochschule. Montefiore invited Schechter to England. He accepted, since he felt uncomfortable in the atmosphere of German scholarship, which under the guise of scientific detachment disparaged the Jewish contributions to world culture and Christianity. With his happy faculty for turning a neat phrase, Schechter labeled higher criticism of the Bible as *higher anti-Semitism*.

Besides guiding Montefiore's studies, Schechter taught at Jews' College in London. But most of his energies went into research at the British Museum and the Bodleian Library among the old Hebrew manuscripts that had been gathering dust. This work led to the publication of a volume that placed him in the top rank of Jewish scholarship. For a long time there existed a tractate of the Babylonian Talmud, *Abot de-Rabbi Nathan*, in a mutilated text largely due to errors made by copyists. This important tract with its mistakes and omissions had been included in the printed Talmud. In his research Schechter came across a second version. Now for the first time a scholar did in Hebrew the kind of job that Renaissance sciolists performed on Latin and Greek manuscripts to ascertain and restore the exact original text. With the most painstaking labor Schechter edited, corrected, compared and compiled—a task possible only by utilizing the wealth of his knowledge and critical acumen. The publication of *Abot de-Rabbi Nathan* also brought recognition from Christian scholarly circles.

About the same time there appeared Schechter's treatise on *The Chassidim*. This sect had been throughout the 19th century traduced, maligned, disparaged and scorned by German rationalists and Russian *maskillim* alike for uncouth behavior, obscurantist befuddlement, ignorance and bigotry; for never trimming their beards or the corkscrew curls which dangled over their ears; for wearing outlandish garb consisting of long coats, white stockings and fur headgear suggesting turbans. Schechter's essay was a first attempt in a modern language to reveal the original high aspirations of the found-

ers who led, in the language of Nietszche, a Dionysian revolt against the rabbinic intellectualism from which the masses were excluded. It was a revolt that made life bearable under the most adverse conditions, persecution by a hostile environment without and the stultifying autarchy of arid scholasticism within. It became apparent that Schechter was not merely a specialist in ancient manuscripts but also a creative historian who could revitalize a past overlaid with the dust of consecrated custom and uncomprehending prejudice.

Schechter's reputation grew, and Cambridge University called him to teach rabbinical literature. For the next 12 years he lived happily in this stronghold of liberalism and formed life friendships with many faculty members, among them the folklorist, Sir James George Frazer, noted author of *The Golden Bough*. The dynamic, talkative, wild-haired Lecturer on Rabbinics struck a bizarre yet stimulating note in the sedate circle. His penetrating comments made the rounds, such as his reply to the great authority on Semitics, Robertson Smith: "You Christians know Hebrew grammar. We know Hebrew." A member of the Society of Jesus, Father Nolan, called and sent in his card. Schechter's greeting was "I am a Jew, and you will understand that I hate Jesuits. Now let us be friends." These refreshing sallies were relished, and the wife of England's eminent historian, Mrs. J. R. Green, summed up the consensus with: "That wild man of stupendous genius."

Among his friends were two learned Scottish women who returned from the Near East with several fragments of Hebrew manuscripts. One sheet struck his curiosity and he hurried to the University Library. It turned out an important find, a fragment in Hebrew from Ecclesiasticus of the Apocrypha, and extant only in Greek. This book written by Ben Sira in the 2nd century B.C.E. was never admitted to the Hebrew or Protestant Canon, but it is part of the Vulgate in the Catholic Bible. The original in Hebrew had long been lost. Its rediscovery would, therefore, be important. Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson had purchased the sheet from a dealer of antiques in Cairo. Schechter concluded that the remainder of the Ecclesiasticus manuscript was probably lying in some old synagogue crypt.

For many centuries the custom had been never to let *sheymes*, holy words in Hebrew, lie about carelessly, lest the word of God be profaned. Thus when a Hebrew book or manuscript became ragged, or no longer usable, the tatters were either buried or stored in a crypt underneath the synagogue. For a thousand years or more a vault or loft attached to the Cairo synagogue was a depository for sacred or secular writings, for remnants of books and manuscripts, and even for the safe keeping of records and documents. Many pieces of vellum, papyrus or other valuable fragments were stored in this book cemetery known by the Hebrew name *genizah*.

With the assistance of the Hebraist, Dr. Charles Taylor, who obtained funds from non-Jewish sources, Schechter decided to visit Cairo and acquire as much of the *genizah* as possible. Armed with impressive credentials and recommendations, sealed and beribboned, from Cambridge University to the Jewish community of Cairo, Schechter used his personal charm and persuaded the Chief Rabbi and lay leaders to relinquish the entire treasure-trove. He presented the accumulation of a millennium to Cambridge University.

Finding the Cairo *genizah* spread Schechter's fame throughout the world. In theological circles it created as much stir as the discovery of certain Egyptian tombs among historians. Excepting Schechter's investigations, the store has been scarcely examined. Yet a number of important discoveries such as more of Ben Sira's book of the Apocrypha in the original Hebrew text, or a signed letter of Maimonides, have been brought to light. Schechter, using a device to protect his nose and mouth and wearing a dust coat, spent years in a room of the University Library sifting the 100,000 fragments and classifying them in bins labeled Bible, Talmud, Rabbinics, Philosophy, Theology, History, and Literature.

Cambridge recognized Schechter's learning with an honorary degree it bestowed upon him. The University milieu had always been attractive for its dignified stability, its respect for erudition, its liberal attitude towards religious differences. Yet he was contemplating a change. On fulfilling an engagement to lecture in Philadelphia he captivated her community of scholars. In turn Schechter was im-

pressed with the raw vigor, the energetic drive, the potentials in the rapidly increasing U. S. Jewry. The top leaders were pressing upon him the presidency of the Jewish Theological Seminary, on the decline since the death of Sabato Morais, its founder. Schechter longed to bring up his children in a Jewish environment, which was lacking in Cambridge. He also felt that his stored up learning and ardent traditional Judaism might shape the expanding community of the New World. When assured that $500,000 together with a proper building were available for the reorganized Seminary, he accepted the position on Nov. 24, 1901.

On coming to America, Schechter's object was in his own words: "to take charge of the Seminary . . . to establish a training school for Rabbis which, adopting what is best in modern thought but at the same time teaching traditional Judaism in such a manner as to awaken fresh interest in our glorious past, should create a conservative School removed alike from both extremes, Radical-Reform and Hyper-Orthodoxy." This was virtually the original purpose envisioned by Sabato Morais and his group when forming the Seminary. But the colorful, vigorous, forceful personality of Schechter with his monumental knowledge and intuitive penetration carried the institution far beyond the expectations of the original founders. It became an academy for higher learning having the largest Jewish library in the world. The faculty of distinguished scholars assembled by Schechter trained Rabbis who occupied pulpits throughout the United States, in Canada and foreign lands. The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, under his stimulating direction, became the generating force of Conservative Judaism, the fountainhead that continues to exert vast influence throughout world Jewry.

Yet he did not attain his objective. Building up one of the three major sections of American Judaism was not the complete fulfillment of his cherished dream. Apparently the complex personality of Schechter could harbor a combination of opposing attributes. Without any ambivalence there blended in him emotion with reason, the scientific spirit and faith, mystic impulses together with rational criticism. He called his religious philosophy "Catholic Judaism," a

synthetic name, not altogether appropriate in the light of Jewish memories. Influenced by the scientific approach of his time, he could not but maintain a critical attitude towards the Bible. Yet he stoutly upheld belief in the Revelation on Mount Sinai. He insisted on accurate knowledge but remained throughout life a mystic almost in the Cabalistic sense. A fixed loyalty to the Torah and tradition did not deter his belief that tradition and history were progressive and changed with the generations. In spite of his modern scientific attitude, he could never tear himself away from that emotional mysticism that lies embedded in the soul of Hassidism.

While in England, Schechter leaned towards a liberal interpretation of Judaism and felt a stereotyped Orthodoxy was too static for the modern world. But in America the radical tendencies of Reform alarmed him so much as to declare: "A Judaism which disowns the Bible, which abolishes our ancient calendar, which is constantly playing with Christian doctrines and puts up Jesus as one of its greatest heroes is to my mind an impossibility, . . . I scarcely need tell you that such movements in Jewish history have always resulted in spiritual disaster." He feared that "Liberal Judaism led to Liberal Christianity." The *Mission of Israel* proudly advocated by the Reformers of his day he dismissed with the devastating question, "But where are the missionaries?" For the first time American Reform met its match in a critic with learning, intellect and reputation who could effectively probe its weak spots. It ceased its aggressive role as the hornet of Orthodoxy. Schechter's onslaughts reduced Reform to one of the three great segments of American Jewry.

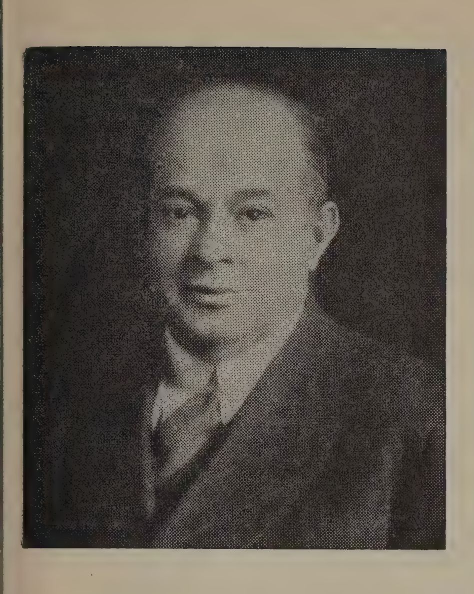
Reform, Orthodox or American Judaism seemed to Schechter labels that indicated sectarian fragmentation. Judaism was an indivisible organism rooted in the Torah and not to be divested of the tradition that held Jews intact for 2000 years. By Catholic Judaism he meant a universal, all-inclusive faith, doctrine and synagogue, not identical with the *universalist* concept of Reform that contradicted the Torah, the Talmud and Jewish nationalism. It had room for Zionism even if the leaders displayed a secular attitude. It was to be the sole religious way of life that should embrace all Jewry.

Yet Catholic Judaism never displaced Orthodoxy or Reform. It never even became a separate movement. But Schechter's labors did result in riveting firmly the Conservative form of Judaism. He followed the example of Isaac M. Wise by founding the United Synagogue of America and strengthening the Rabbinical Assembly. Through these organizations, in conjunction with the Seminary, he accomplished for the Conservative wing what Wise did for Reform. Of course, the times were propitious, for there existed something like a vacuum between the extremes of Reform and Orthodoxy. A growing generation was ready, perhaps eager, to move into the gap.

With the death of Schechter, the term Catholic Judaism passed into history. But Conservative Judaism grew steadily, gaining numbers and prestige. Its adherents consider it the most progressive force in Judaism destined to surpass the other two branches of American Jewry. Its vitality, its appeal and promising future may be attributed to the energy and scholarship of Solomon Schechter, who infused his own intellectual force into Catholic Judaism, a force which the Conservative movement has absorbed.



SCHECHTER WORKING ON GENIZAH



1902

CHARLES FROHMAN and DAVID BELASCO

Theatre in the U.S.A.

THE GREATEST American play producer perhaps inherited a love for the theatre from his German-born father. Henry Frohman would have been an actor or possibly a writer of plays if he could have followed his natural bent. But at 18 he left Germany and settled in Sandusky, Ohio, where his youngest son Charles was born in 1860. Father Henry was doing quite well in the manufacture of cigars and could spend his leisure acting German plays with an amateur group which he organized. But his wife thought the small town would offer no future for their three boys. In 1864 he moved to New York City and opened a cigar store in the theatrical center of lower Broadway.

Little Charles grew up in the environment of actors and theatres. His brother Gustave sold opera librettos and his father received passes to plays for permitting the use of his store windows for billboards. One night a doorkeeper kindly let the eight-year-old boy slip through the darkened door to see the "Black Crook," a spectacular extravaganza of the 1860s. He beheld a world of splendor, of beautiful girls, of gorgeous scenery on the gas lit stage. The

theatre got into his blood. He received little, if any, schooling and at 14 got his first job as ticket-seller in a minstrel show at Brooklyn. Later he went on the road as advance agent for traveling companies. He became at 23 an independent manager and subsequently brought order and system into the chaotic theatre business by helping to organize the powerful Klaw and Erlanger syndicate that operated on a national scale.

Nothing can explain the phenomenal insight of Charles Frohman into dramatic values, except sheer intuition. Without systematic or disciplined study, he could appraise the merits of a manuscript with uncanny discernment. He outclassed his contemporaries in estimating the values of strong, emotional, appealing, uplifting, human, yet clean theatre. His judgments ranged from minstrels to high tragedy, from fairy tale to musical comedy, from melodrama to pageantry. The range and number of Frohman's productions leave the present day managers aghast. Altogether he was responsible for 700 shows on the American and English boards. In the Golden Age of the theatre, his plays rank high in dramatic quality, in careful staging, in artistic directing, in balanced casting, in scenic effectiveness.

And yet they were not always financial successes. He had to write off many a failure. To Frohman, the theatre was not the medium for the detached art of a cold museum. A play had to pulsate with life, and he knew the public came primarily for enjoyment. He would sometimes lavish a fortune on a production that to him seemed meritorious without the lure of a promising box office. His amazing successes caused enemies or competitors to charge him with commercializing the theatre; yet at no time did he stoop to the cheap, vulgar, sexy shows that promised to be sure fire hits.

Among his triumphs were such outstanding melodramas as *Shenandoah, The Lion and the Mouse, Madame X, The Thief, Paid In Full*. Frohman introduced to the American public scintillating comedies such as *The Little Minister, Lady Windermere's Fan, Misalliance, What Every Woman Knows, Are You A Mason*. His sense of pathos is attested by such tragedies as *Camille, Iris, The Second*

Mrs. Tangueray. In *David Harum* he caught the cracker barrel wisdom of the American village philosopher. He sensed the fascination of the detective mystery plot in his unforgettable *Sherlock Holmes*. But his most daring venture was *Peter Pan,* the fairy tale of romantic childhood that swept over the land like a prairie fire.

His starring of E. H. Sothern and Julia Marlowe produced the finest Shakespeare in repertory that American audiences ever saw. Yet he was equally painstaking with light musical comedies. If a play was a smash hit in New York, he sent out as many as five companies to delight the public throughout the land. His stock shows, whether the Wallack Theatre Company, or the Ben Greet Players, or Isidora Duncan's Classical Dances, brought uplift and pleasure to urban and rural America.

Phenomenal was Frohman's penetration into the capacity, talent, appeal, and imagination that went into acting. It is easy to appreciate an artist playing the leading role of a well conceived drama by a famous writer and supported with a cast, costumes, and scenery that requires a king's ransom. But it is quite another thing to recognize talent in humble obscurity, doing a minor part in a tawdry production. As a star maker, Frohman stands unsurpassed. But for him, it is quite probable that Maude Adams might have wasted her unforgettable charm in a stock company playing in humble circuits.

Some of his stars might have reached fame because of innate ability. But the name of Charles Frohman will ever be associated with Maude Adams, John Drew, Billie Burke, William Gillette, Julia Sanderson, Otis Skinner, Ethel and Lionel Barrymore, Marie Tempest, William Farnum, Olga Nethersole, William Faversham, Marie Doro, Henry Miller, Pauline Chase, James K. Hackett, Viola Allen, Kyrle Bellew, Nat Goodwin, and many others. Some he discovered; others he gave a chance. For a few, he achieved stardom by staking his entire fortune.

Charles Frohman was a man of many contradictions. A careful director, he could sacrifice huge sums on plays with doubtful prospects. Avid for success, he fathered many a failure. The most publicized of producers, he shied away from the camera and seldom

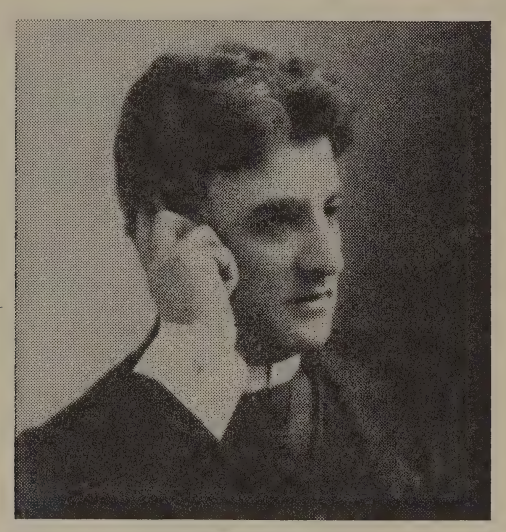
posed for a picture. In the glare of publicity he preferred living in obscure retirement. Meticulous in casting a production to the tiniest detail, he transacted his important business by word of mouth. From the most temperamental of stars he would exact the most arduous work over a period of years, without a line of written agreement among them. With meager education, he could coin cryptic phrases that matched the polished efforts of his literary associates. His business colleagues were astounded at the friendships he inspired and retained of such eminent *literati* as Sir James M. Barrie, W. Somerset Maugham, William Gillette, Mark Twain, Sir Arthur W. Pinero, Clyde Fitch, Arthur Henry Jones, Charles Klein, Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree, Alfred Sutro, Cosmo Hamilton, Gerald DuMaurier, Anthony Hope.

The sedate serenity of England had a strong attraction for Frohman. To Britain he brought American energy, stardom, economics, and invested the British stage with fresh vigor. Annually he crossed the Atlantic to renew contact with the source of English-speaking drama. On May 1st, 1915, he boarded the *Lusitania,* heedless of warnings against the hazards of German submarines. Seven days later the boat was torpedoed several miles from the Irish coast. His last words were, "Why fear death? It is the most beautiful adventure of life."

An assessment of Frohman's career or character is quite baffling. The rules that ordinarily ensure success evidently did not apply to him. Some of his eccentricities—as the refusal to carry a watch or walking in the rain without an umbrella—appear quixotic. In money matters he displayed a startling naivete. It is therefore not surprising that he lost the fortunes he made and died poor. The words of George Bernard Shaw are probably more true than whimsical:

> "There is a prevalent impression that Charles Frohman is a hard-headed American man of business who would not look at anything that is not likely to pay. On the contrary, he is the most wildly romantic and adventurous man of my acquaintance. As Charles XII became an excellent soldier because of his passion for

putting himself in the way of being killed, so Charles Frohman became a famous manager through his passion for putting himself in the way of being ruined."



DAVID BELASCO.

No student of the theatre would deny Charles Frohman's rank as the great American impresario. The place of David Belasco is not as secure. In fact his faults were so patent that during his lifetime he received much censure. Alexander Woollcott, dramatic critic of the *New York Times,* wrote: "David Belasco is a producer of much skill, infinite patience, enormous industry and a true relish for the theatre. If, nevertheless, the setting sun finds him occupying a comparatively undistinguished place in the running story of the art he has served, it is because his own taste has associated him always with second and third rate plays."

In many ways Frohman and Belasco were contrasts. The former was shy and had a diffidence that caused him to avoid the camera like a plague. The latter was aggressive, posed for many photographs, wore a priestly collar and clerical vest together with a cape that suggested a cassock. Frohman staged the plays he liked regard-

less of their commercial success; Belasco could also lavish enormous expenditures upon dramas that showed little prospects of an adequate cash return, but was never unaware of the personal glamour they might bring him. Frohman preferred anonymity and could easily pass for a benevolent insurance agent while Belasco, ever watching the effect of the attitude he struck, cultivated eccentricities that were always theatrical. Nor did he overlook any opportunity. Once a year he attended religious services. But he chose the solemn moment of Yom Kippur when the Central Synagogue on Lexington Avenue was most crowded for the afternoon Memorial service. He would follow the usher down the aisle, the flowing mantle disclosing his priestly apparel. As soon as the Prayers for the Dead were over in the all-day service he would make the equally dramatic exit with the eyes of the entire congregation on him. Yet Frohman and Belasco were both creative artists.

It is not easy to separate the factual from the fictional in the youth of David as related by the publicity-conscious Belasco many years later. There seems to be little basis for the story of his schooling at the "monastery" in Victoria, B. C., which was non-existent. Nor was there any Father McGuire in whose memory Belasco wore the clerical apparel. Yet it does appear that in his early teens David was strenuously occupied with play-acting, amateur as well as professional. Before attaining his majority David seems to have gone through the entire gamut of theatre experience: reciting, beating a bass drum, circus barking, declaiming, playwriting, stage managing, acting, directing, and being a supernumerary. It was largely due to his early activities that Belasco was fitted for the role of training the casts, directing the shows and working out those stage effects for which he became famous.

While no great dramatist Belasco, nevertheless, cannot be overlooked as a playwright. He adapted 14 plays from novels and French literature. He collaborated with other writers on 13 plays and was the sole author of six dramas. It should be remembered that he created the one-act tragedy of *Madame Butterfly* from a short story by John Luther Long, a Philadelphia lawyer virtually forgotten

except for supplying the material for the play that became an extremely popular opera. When the composer Puccini saw the Belasco performance in London, his imagination took fire, although he hardly understood a word of English. The single act was made into the last two acts of the Butterfly opera by Puccini's librettists, who retained what Belasco wrote almost intact. This is indeed a tribute to Belasco's skill as a dramatist.

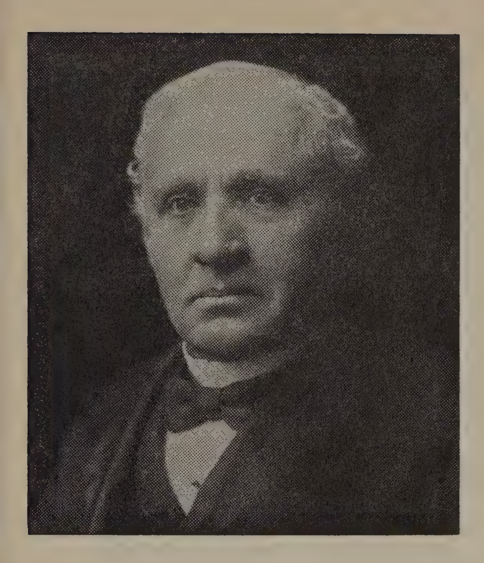
If it is possible to judge the merits of a play by the number of appearances then the rating of Belasco's compositions runs quite high. His first play, *La Belle Russe,* written when 27 years old, began at Wallack's in May 1882, had 55 performances, then went on the road and reached London. *May Blossom,* a greater hit, was performed 170 times in the Madison Square Theater and altogether more than a thousand times. *The Heart of Maryland,* with Mrs. Leslie Carter in the title role, had 229 showings at the Herald Square, then toured for three seasons and brought in over a million dollars. Its success impressed Charles Frohman, who for his own Adelphi Theater in London sponsored this blood and thunder melodrama of American life which swept the sedate Victorians off their feet. *The Girl of the Golden West,* which also became a Puccini opera sung by Caruso, Destinn and Amato, with Toscanini conducting, had 224 performances at the Belasco and two years later was revived 46 times. *DuBarry* had 165 performances and 79 revivals. The greatest success perhaps of any Belasco written drama was achieved by David Warfield in *The Return of Peter Grimm* which enjoyed 231 performances and 78 revivals.

Yet the popularity of these productions was not due to literary excellence or dramatic power. Belasco was sometimes charged with plagiarism, with lifting plots and situations out of older plays. But everyone admitted his skill in casting, producing and staging. No one ever expended more effort and hard work in ironing out the minute details that went into perfecting a production. He brought realism into fitting up the scenery, the furnishings, the setting and furniture that created the desired atmosphere. Instead of a painted curtain suggesting a library, he selected carefully the actual books

that might fill the shelves of a doctor, lawyer or professor. He surprised audiences by bringing on the stage a genuine switchboard. In lighting he attained fame, being the first to introduce the incandescent electric light in the 1880s, the new invention of Thomas A. Edison. He paid the closest attention to lighting effects, which became a necessity to all staging. Perfection of detail became synonymous with a Belasco production.

Even more important was the care lavished in training his actors to render their lines with intelligence and conviction. The nuances of voice and speech, intonation and inflection were refined to a subtle yet emphatic degree. In some cases the results of Belasco's coaching were phenomenal. Mrs. Leslie Carter, a society woman spoiled by leisure and idleness and involved in a scandalous divorce suit, decided without any previous experience to become an actress. With Belasco's instruction she became a star, heralded in America and in England. He first detected the latent abilities in David Warfield, a Webber and Fields Music Hall comedian. Under Belasco's guidance he developed into an artist of high quality, an actor who could interpret such variations of the pathetic as were demanded by roles involving such different emotional backgrounds and content as are to be found in *The Auctioneer, The Music Master, The Return of Peter Grimm*. Belasco started the child Mary Pickford on the road to becoming America's sweetheart and a world celebrity. In his school ripened such stars as Blanche Bates, Lenore Ulric and Frances Starr. To act with David Belasco was regarded a distinction by artists of tried and tested abilities.

It is quite obvious that Belasco was neither a Eugene O'Neill nor a Charles Frohman. He probably did not possess the intellectual equipment nor the moral fervor required by the modern drama of "social significance." Yet any appraisal that attempts to ignore, dismiss or bypass him is unjust. There is, however, much truth in Deems Taylor's estimate of David Belasco as "a self-styled genius, charlatan, poseur, call him what you will—who nonetheless managed to write an important page in the history of the American theater."



1903

MAYER SULZBERGER and CYRUS ADLER

Secular Leaders

Isaac Leeser was lying on his death bed in 1868. The unofficial leader of American Jewry in the ante-bellum era perhaps reviewed the past and wondered who would take his place. His monthly *Occident and American Jewish Advocate* had survived the catastrophic war. Maimonides College was functioning. But what would became of the *Occident?* This periodical had been a religious, educational and spiritual force in Jewish life. He could think only of one person who as editor would carry on in his own spirit. He was Mayer Sulzberger.

In the busy law office of Moses A. Dropsie, 25-year-old Mayer could hardly spare the time and energy necessary for editing and publishing a journal with a circulation in many states. The young attorney would only promise to operate the paper for one year. With this acceptance the mantle of Elijah fell upon the shoulders of the Philadelphia Elisha. Without knowing it, he succeeded to Jewish leadership during the hiatus between the death of Isaac Leeser and the emergence of dynamic Louis Marshall.

A graph in the Jewish Encyclopedia traces the Sulzberger family

tree back to the year 1600. Some of its members played prominent roles in Jewish affairs. Kaufmann Kohler, scholarly president of the Hebrew Union College, and the eminent Cyrus Adler were sturdy limbs of its trunk. Cyrus L. Sulzberger, columnist of *The New York Times,* is in the top echelon of foreign correspondents; he is read carefully by an anxious public apprehensive of survival in the atomic age. Arthur Hays Sulzberger continued the traditions of his father-in-law Adolph Ochs in maintaining *The New York Times* as the world's foremost newspaper. Yet no one of this distinguished family would deny its most illustrious niche to Mayer Sulzberger.

The failure of revolution in 1848 exposed Abraham Sulzberger as well as other German Jews to the dangers of reaction with its lapdog, anti-Semitism. Emigration to the free world was obviously the only sensible course. The hazan-teacher transported his family across the sea to distant Philadelphia, the home of his brother Leopold. Little Mayer, scarcely six years old, could remember all his life the anti-Jewish climate generated by the *furor Teutonicus*. Mayer completed Central High School at 16 and received a sound Hebrew education from his scholarly father and from the Reverend Leeser. To keep from becoming one-sided, he spent two years in business and gained valuable experience along practical lines. In those days the Law was generally read under the tutelage of an active practitioner. Therefore at 19 he entered the office of Moses A. Dropsie and in 1865 was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar.

The writings of Mayer Sulzberger in the *Occident* disclose something not superficially visible in American Jewry during or before the Civil War era. There were no academies of Hebrew learning, few ordained rabbis, no books of Jewish content in English to speak of. Yet by looking at these articles we find that Jewish learning did exist even before the exodus out of Russia flooded the world with Hebrew and Yiddish scholarship. If we bear in mind that the young attorney was a product of America during a sterile period of Jewish education, then we can only register surprise on seeing his partial

translation of Maimonides' major philosophic work, *The Guide to the Perplexed*. His rendition of Azariah dei Rossi's dictionary of Jewish authors might be due to Sabato Morais, hazan of Mikveh Israel, who was steeped in Italian-Jewish literature. Mayer's subjects range from the 16th-century statesman, "Don Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos" to the mystical philosophy of "The Cabala." He writes on "The Vizier Rabbi" Samuel ibn Nagrela of Granada, "The Falashas" of Abyssinia, "Hasdai ben Isaac," diplomat to the Caliph of Cordova, and "The Coinage of the Ancient Hebrews."

Yet in his younger days such preoccupation with Jewish literature could only be subordinate to acquiring the vast legal knowledge that distinguished him as a jurist in his later years. In 1876 he left Moses Dropsie and opened his own office. Practice became lucrative and Sulzberger ranked among Philadelphia's leading lawyers. Elected Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1895, he was 10 years later the nominee for this post of both major political parties. He was the first Jew in this court since Moses Levy, famous for the Cordwainers' Case, was judge in the early days of the Republic. His presiding at a trial became an event and people sat for days listening to his sallies of wit and humor, to his learned yet sound comments. He became President Judge of Circuit Court Part 2, and after his retirement the opinions of Bench and Bar were summarized at the presentation of his painted portrait by the distinguished Philadelphia jurist, Hon. Norris S. Barratt:

> "If asked to sum up Mayer Sulzberger as a judge to you, his brethern of the Bar, sitting as a jury, I would say he had piercing genius, a ready wit, a subtle and logical mind and a big and lovable heart. He is endeared to all who know him by those generous and kindly qualities which true greatness always possesses, and reverenced and admired for the high and commanding quality of his intellect. . . .
>
> "His mere statement of the law seemed to give it new force and vitality. While it was an abstract principle before, upon hearing

> him state it, it became a living, breathing thing for the protection of life, liberty or property. From his lips it seemed so simple and correct that one knew it must be so—*res ipsal loquitur.*
>
> "His ears are always open to those in sorrow, misfortune or distress, and his generous hand is ready to relieve if he finds them worthy. But his mind is not merely of that discriminating quality that if the difficulties or misfortunes of others are the results of their own inefficiency, he must analyze the whole situation not only to determine the true cause, but also to find the remedy. He then extricates them or not, as circumstances warrant. He is the most sensibly and intelligently charitable man that I have ever known."

His record on the bench, his learning and character were so distinguished that Sulzberger was suggested to William H. Taft for the U. S. Supreme Court. The story has it that the fat, mediocre President found the name that rhymed with hamburger too funny for a place in that august body. Taft did offer to appoint him Ambassador to Turkey, which honor he declined. Yet after retirement, Sulzberger's juridic usefulness was not ended. In his 80th year, he served on a committee to revise Pennsylvania's State Constitution. He attended meetings and with enthusiastic zest contributed his declining strength to so congenial a task.

In Jewish affairs the energies of Sulzberger seemed endless. Every worthwhile cause in Philadelphia claimed his attention. Trustee of Mikveh Israel Congregation, he was elected the first president of the Young Men's Hebrew Association. He simply had to be active in the Jewish Hospital which his father founded. Secretary of the board of Maimonides College while it existed, he was Trustee of Gratz College from its foundation in 1897. Loyalty and friendship for the founder of Dropsie College demanded his participation on the original Board of Governors.

A wide range of scholarly pursuits absorbed his attention and concentrated effort. A collector of Hebrew incunabula, he also gathered manuscripts in Arabic, Ethiopic, Samaritan, and assembled Assyrian and Phoenician seals. His extensive legal library was pre-

sented to the court on his retirement. The wide collection of Hebraica and Judaica with many rare volumes became the nucleus of the famed library in the Jewish Theological Seminary, the largest single aggregation of Jewish books in the world.

Not only did Judge Sulzberger collect books, he also studied them. When freed of court duties, he delved deeply into Hebrew lore and wrote four stimulating tracts. In *The Am-Haaretz,* he set out to reconstruct *"a chapter in the constitutional history of Ancient Israel"* and to prove the existence of an *"Ancient Hebrew Parliament."* *The Status of Labor in Ancient Israel* reveals the penetrating intellect of the author. In *The Ancient Hebrew Law of Homicide* he brings to bear his own experience as an expert lawyer. *The Polity of the Ancient Hebrews* discloses the statesman and jurist.

His writings were, perhaps, of no great importance. There remained, however, the necessity of creating a Jewish literature in English, of encouraging authors to write for the limited American Jewish public, of publishing and distributing such worthwhile books as were written. To this end the Jewish Publication Society of America was organized in Philadelphia. One of its originators, Judge Sulzberger served as chairman of the Publication Committee from its formation in 1888 to his death in 1923. More than anyone else he shaped policies, selected manuscripts and supervised the production of attractive formats. It was pursuant to his request for a book to be written for the Publication Society that Israel Zangwill wrote *The Children of the Ghetto.*

A member of Mikveh Israel, the synagogue founded during the Revolution, Mayer Sulzberger was never drawn to the Reform movement, which towards the close of the century swept triumphantly over American Israel. Yet traditional or historical Judaism attracted him more than extreme Orthodoxy. He might be numbered among the leading pioneers of Conservative Judaism. It was largely due to his promptings that the scholar and thinker, Solomon Schechter, forsook Cambridge University in England to become the spiritual and intellectual leader of the Conservative branch of American Judaism. Judge Sulzberger took an active part in reor-

ganizing the Jewish Theological Seminary and remained on its board of directors to the end of his life.

Sulzberger's mature years coincided with a period of fermentation in American Jewry. A founder of the American Jewish Historical Society, he was also a trustee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, designed to assist in settling the great mass of refugees out of Russia. Yet he was influenced by the optimistic idealism of his own generation that relied upon progress and enlightenment to banish the spectre of anti-Semitism. Together with his Reform contemporaries he could see nothing salutary in a Jewish State, even as a haven for the persecuted beset by mortal dangers in their environment. Zionism to him was an evil, except for settling a limited number of agricultural colonists in the wastelands of Palestine.

Following the rash of pogroms after the Kishineff massacre, 15 outstanding Americans met in 1906 to form the American Jewish Committee. This group, later extended to 50, accepted the task of safeguarding Jewish civil and religious rights everywhere, alleviating suffering and securing equality of economic, social and educational opportunities. Selection of Mayer Sulzberger as the first chairman of this influential body demonstrates the high opinion of colleagues as to his fitness in leading American Jewry. He served six years and his powerful, juridic plea in 1911 to the House Foreign Relations Committees condemning discrimination against American-Jewish citizens led Congress to abrogate the 1832 treaty with Russia.

The influence of Mayer Sulzberger was life-long and profound upon his cousin, Cyrus Adler. Born in the third year of the Civil War on the Arkansas border, the latter's parents left that dangerous outpost and moved back to Philadelphia, the home of his mother who was a first cousin of Mayer Sulzberger. Educated at the University of Pennsylvania, he then entered Johns Hopkins which in the 1880s offered the best post-graduate courses in America. Its eminent professors attracted the best of students, among whom was Woodrow Wilson. In 1887 Cyrus Adler was the first in the U.S.A. to receive a Ph.D. in Semitics.

Immediately appointed instructor by the university, Adler within

three years became Associate Professor of Semitic languages. About the same time, he was selected Curator of a Department in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. Many a brilliant scholar on attaining his 30th year would have felt fortunate in holding down two such posts and would for the rest of his life ask nothing more than to develop to full maturity in both institutions.



CYRUS ADLER.

For Cyrus Adler these positions were merely the opening steps of a career jam-packed with activities that would have satisfied the energies and ambitions of five normal men. In 1890 President Benjamin Harrison selected him as Special Commissioner to secure exhibits from Turkey, Egypt, Tunis, Persia and Morocco for the Chicago World's Fair, which would celebrate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. Adler traveled in those countries in the triple capacity of diplomat, American representative, and expert on Moslem lore. The success of this mission enhanced his reputation so that in his 31st year Dr. Adler was appointed Librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, a full-time position that necessitated his resignation from Johns Hopkins.

The numerous activities of Cyrus Adler are surprising. In 1892, he called together a group and launched the American Jewish Historical Society, which has done a masterful job in researching, collecting and publishing original material about Jews in America since the first voyage of Columbus. He was president of the American Oriental Society and active in the American Philosophical Society, which was started by Benjamin Franklin. In the Jewish Publication Society of America, he participated on the Executive Committee from its very beginning and became Trustee and subsequently its president.

As parallel with and supplementary to the work of the American Jewish Historical Society, Dr. Adler saw the necessity of collecting data while the events were happening. He thus conceived of the Year Book and proposed it as the annual feature of the Jewish Publication Society. Thus since 1899, the American Jewish Year Book has recorded all the significant events in Jewish life everywhere, its authoritative statistics, its organizations and institutions, its religious, cultural and political happenings, the biographies of personalities, and its contributions to the civilization of the various environments. Some of the volumes were edited by Cyrus Adler, others by Henrietta Szold, and much priceless historical information of the turbulent events of half a century was perhaps saved from oblivion.

Something paradoxical is noticeable in the character of Cryus Adler. A completely integrated American, he differed little from his friends and associates, who were chiefly Reform Jews. Adler's hostility to Zionism and a Jewish State was the typical Reform attitude. But his religion was the Conservative Judaism of Mayer Sulzberger and Sabato Morais, the choice spirits in the mellowed atmosphere of Philadelphia's century-old Jewry.

When Morais founded in 1886 the Jewish Theological Seminary, he engendered in the young Cyrus an interest that grew with the years. Later Dr. Adler was able to render a service that carried this institution to heights undreamed of by the founder. In England he met in the midst of a scintillating circle the Cambridge scholar, Solomon Schechter, who was a throwback to the great Jewish sages

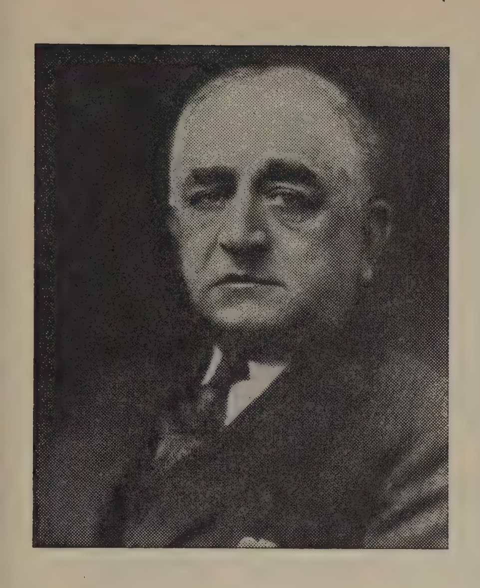
of old. In 1901 he helped to induce Dr. Schechter to head the Seminary, a step that gave it the prestige whereby it became a mighty force in American Judaism. On the death of this original and searching thinker, Dr. Adler succeeded as President. It was greatly due to the efforts and foresight of Cyrus Adler that the Jewish Theological Seminary now harbors the largest and most valuable library of Hebraica and Judaica in all the world.

As Librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, Cyrus Adler found the work congenial, with sufficient spare time for his many other interests. But in 1905, Moses Aaron Dropsie of Philadelphia died, bequeathing a million dollars for a college devoted to Hebrew and cognate learning for postgraduates of any race or creed. The will created a sensation in Jewish circles and its executors could find no one more fitting than Cyrus Adler for the leadership of this unique institution. In 1908 he resigned the position in Washington and as president devoted many years of his life to building Dropsie College and training a generation of scholars imbued with the passion for higher learning. Among other functions, the College took over from England the Jewish Quarterly Review, which disseminates Jewish learning throughout the English-speaking world.

Space permits hardly an outline of all the activities participated in by Cyrus Adler. A Board of Editors under his chairmanship produced a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, freed of Christian interpretations, and wholly acceptable for Jewish usage. The monumental Jewish Encyclopedia of 12 volumes might never have been completed in 1906 but for the part he took in smoothing out the literary, the financial, the managerial problems that arose. He was a prime mover in organizing the American Jewish Committee when the Kishineff massacre followed by other pogroms demonstrated the need for Jewish spokesmen to negotiate with rulers and governments. He guided the destiny of the United Synagogue of America and rendered patriotic service in the First World War through his leadership of the Jewish Welfare Board. In a leading capacity he served the Joint Distribution Committee from its inception to the end of his life.

This splendid record of manifold achievements was, however, marred by his refusal to recognize the will of the Jewish majority. Hostility to Zionism made him oppose the wishes of American Jewry as registered in the overwhelming vote for the American Jewish Congress. It set him squarely against Justice Louis D. Brandeis. At the Versailles Peace Conference he refused to sit with the American Jewish Congress, even though his colleague, Louis Marshall, appeared as a delegate. In 1929 he joined the newly formed Jewish Agency for Palestine and succeeded Louis Marshall as chairman after the latter's death. The Jewish Agency might have been a more potent force during the critical and tragic 1930's had Cyrus Adler put in the energy and drive that had gone into other causes.

One would imagine that being President of the Jewish Theological Seminary and Dropsie College simultaneously would restrain Cyrus Adler from extra-curricular labors. But it seems that he would thrive best under a multiplicity of tasks. In addition to the aforementioned activities he was also a writer, lecturer and historian. He gathered the most telling editorials of the general press on the Russian pogrom in 1903 and published them in a book, *The Voice of America on Kishineff*. His travels in the Near East resulted in a group of Turkish tales, *Told in a Coffee House*. These were written in collaboration with other writers. His numerous articles and monographs appeared in the *American Jewish Year Book* and the *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*. The outstanding written work of Cyrus Adler is the massive two volume biography, *Jacob H. Schiff, His Life and Letters*.



1904

ADOLPH S. OCHS

The New York Times

If Horatio Alger had written of a printer's devil who subsequently became owner and publisher of the greatest newspaper of all time, such a tale would have been ridiculed as the figment of an overstrained imagination. Yet that is the story of Adolph S. Ochs whose career unfolded while Alger was spinning out yarns about people rising from rags to riches.

Adolph's father, Capt. Julius Ochs, was a gentleman of aesthetic tastes but slight business acumen. Only a sorry business man would in 1865 leave Ohio to settle in the prostrate South ruined by a disastrous war. But the captain, who had served the Union in the Mexican and Civil Wars, did not come as a carpetbagger. In 1855 Julius had married a Mississippi girl, who even in Cincinnati remained loyal to Dixie. Stationed in Tennessee during the war, he had purchased a half-interest in a men's furnishings store. The large payroll handed out to soldiers made business boom. Capt. Ochs moved his wife and six children in covered wagons from Cincinnati to Knoxville. For a time war profits held up the inflated prosperity.

Then came the crash. The captain gave up his large home and ceased his lavish entertaining.

Eleven-year-old Adolph delivered newspapers while going to school. Three years later he got a job on the *Knoxville Chronicle,* sweeping floors, picking up type, clearing desks and running errands. His 25¢-per-day wage supplied the family with food. In the composing room he learned type-setting and later held down a printer's job in Louisville. He found his way to Chattanooga, but the going was tough. He tried publishing a city directory and acquired the habit of borrowing, at the same time building up a reputation for paying back promptly.

When Adolph reached 19, he decided to publish a daily paper. In the Reconstructed South, newspapers sprang up like mushrooms, but among them the *Chattanooga Times* was rapidly withering. The well-worn type and used-up paraphernalia could be had for $800. Adolph's reputation for paying debts now came in good stead; he was able to borrow $250 for the purchase of a half interest in the moribund newspaper. For the other half, the owner contracted to accept its appraised value whenever Ochs was ready to pay up. Col. MacGowan agreed to be editor for $1.50 a day until the business could afford to pay more. The type-setters and pressmen received scrip on the local stores, which paid for their advertisements with due bills.

In the poverty of Chattanooga, without a paved street to cover its muddy red earth, the odds against success in journalism seemed about 10,000 to 10. Unremitting toil pushed the decrepit paper to solidity, then to affluence. The half-interest worth $550 in 1878 was purchased for $5500 four years later. Adolph Ochs at 25 felt secure enough to marry the daughter of Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, the renowned Reform leader in American Judaism. The *Chattanooga Times* attained power in Tennessee and beyond. In 1892 its new building with a golden dome was the show-place of the proud townspeople.

The publisher of the *Chattanooga Times* was civic minded and believed that the home town would grow into a metropolis. Wasn't

it situated on the Tennessee River, which wound its tortuous course into the Ohio? And in the 1880s water as a means of transportation was still believed superior to the railroad. Iron ore, coal and timber were near enough to be available for the city's expansion. Confidence in a prosperous future produced that curious American phenomenon of feverish madness that culminated in a real estate boom. Business men, ordinarily careful, soon lost their caution and were swept into the maelstrom. Conservatives were branded "old fogies" and speculating in land became the norm identified with local patriotism.

A leading citizen, Adolph Ochs was in the midst of it all. He bought and sold, planned subdivisions "close in," and then a houseing development "Timesville" about two days' travelling from the city before the completion of a proposed railroad. He envisioned a second Chicago. With a group he organized the Chattanooga Land and Coal Co. which the townspeople referred to as "The Over-the-River Company." While basically a real estate project it reached out for iron deposits, coal mines and large timber tracts. A contemplated investment of $12,000,000 would build a railroad, erect luxury resort hotels, besides equip the more prosaic mines and saw mills.

Enthusiasm swept nearly all of Chattanooga into this venture. Lands were acquired but the rustic owner of a large tract essential to the project distrusted such newfangled words as syndicate, corporation, trust or associates. Yes, he heard of Adolph S. Ochs, the newspaper owner; but why deal with a whole bunch? If Mr. Ochs wanted to buy he should talk business. Acting for the group, the *Times* publisher purchased individually and signed a mortgage note in something like six figures. Soon real estate activity began to subside and normalcy began to return. The mortgage holder filed suit against Adolph S. Ochs and the court entered a judgment for $103,000. Other sums were becoming due and virtually everyone in town was in debt. Many leading citizens wiped out their obligations through bankruptcy.

Ochs was insolvent but would not resort to the Bankruptcy Act. He stretched his credit and borrowed from every available source to

hold off his creditors. His only asset was the flourishing newspaper and the *Chattanooga Times* had to float a bond issue of $300,000 to carry on and maintain the recently constructed edifice with its golden dome. But his salary would never pay off his debts. He had to find some way to make sufficient money to forestall other judgments. Speculation or even business were evidently not his metier. He had made a phenomenal success out of a newspaper that failed. A shoemaker must stick to his last.

The successful publisher began looking about for other rundown papers to reclaim. Just then an important daily coincidentally named *The New York Times,* was steadily moving towards bankruptcy. To tackle a metropolitan daily and become the target for such buccaneers as Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst was enough to frighten the boldest, regardless of previous success. Besides, how could a small town operator hope to compete with the ablest and most resourceful journalists in America—scintillating Charles A. Dana of the *New York Sun,* the intellectual E. L. Godkin on the *Post,* James Gordon Bennett, the second owner of the *Herald,* or with such a celebrity as Whitelaw Reid, publisher of the *Tribune.* Yet Adolph plunged into conferences with the bondholders and managers of *The New York Times,* and while the negotiations were on, the paper was thrown into bankruptcy. The stockholders had little to lose, even if a hick from Tennessee took over and attempted to revitalize a journal that had acquired distinction as far back as the Civil War.

The former chore boy, typesetter and recent speculator inspired confidence. Creditors agreed to wait, stockholders exchanged old for new shares, and the court turned the plant over to the new management. The impossible happened to the amazement of wiseacres. *The New York Times* began to grow in circulation and advertisements. With incredible speed, it became the pre-eminent newspaper in the city, in the state, in the nation. No paper anywhere could hope to rival its comprehensive news coverage, its political power, its influence on public opinion, on business, on the arts, and on the social and intellectual life of the U.S.A.

The question arises how a small town operator without journalist training could create the greatest newspaper on earth. An explanation might be found in the South's Reconstruction, that tragic era of violence and desperation, of frayed nerves and angry tempers, of sectional hatred and civil strife. Obviously this was no place for a Jewish publisher, son of a Yankee officer, to indulge in the muck-raking in vogue at that time. To survive, or even to avoid gun-play, it was essential to operate "a high standard newspaper, clean, dignified, and trustworthy."

The success of the *Chattanooga Times* set the policy for *The New York Times* "to reflect the best informed thought of the country, honest in every line, more than courteous and fair to those who may sincerely differ from its views." Such a newspaper was welcome to decent, fair-minded people, weary of the harpooning yellow journalists. It became the most widely read paper in America. Its fair, adequate, impartial treatment of "all the news that's fit to print" represents faithfully "the United States to the world and the world to the United States."

When Adolph Ochs took over, the paper had a paid circulation of 9000 and was losing at the rate of $2500 a week—some say $1000 a day. In two years the circulation increased to 25,000. This was a good showing yet meager alongside of Hearst's *Journal* or Pulitzer's *World*. These "yellow" journals sold for one cent as against three cents for the *Times* and other respectable dailies which catered to more substantial readers. Ochs came to a simple conclusion which everyone opposed. Why not charge one cent for the *Times*? Immediately the circulation jumped to 75,000. Of course advertisements increased enormously. The *Times* moved steadily to its pre-eminent place in the press of the world. Today Hearst's *American* is the only other survivor of the many dailies which flourished in New York at the close of the century.

Such an achievement is difficult to explain. After all, the ability of Adolph Ochs as a sound businessman might be questioned after his fiasco in the Chattanooga real estate boom. Deficient in education he was not in the class of those trained newspapermen who were his

competitors. Yet undoubtedly he had something not easily defined, some innate wisdom that lay deeply submerged in the subconscious among those mysterious traits and instincts of character or personality. After three score years the paper is still true to the principles laid down by Adolph S. Ochs on August 18, 1896 in the opening announcement:

"It will be my earnest aim that *The New York Times* give the news, all the news, in concise and attractive form, in language that is permissible in good society, and give it as early if not earlier, than it can be learned through any other reliable medium; to give the news impartially, without fear or favor, regardless of party, sect or interests involved; to make of the columns of *The New York Times* a forum for the consideration of all questions of public importance and to that end to invite intelligent discussion from all shades of opinion."

Adolph Ochs also made important contributions outside of journalism. He financed the publication of the *American Year Book* and underwrote more than $500,000 towards producing the *Dictionary of American Biography*. This monumental work of 20 volumes prepared by the Learned Societies of America is an important addition to historiography in the United States. Indicative of a liberal attitude towards other religions was his gift of two huge menorahs in bronze to the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York.

The most affectionate regard he reserved for the place that started him in the astounding ascent to fame and wealth. He virtually showered Chattanooga with benefactions. In memory of his parents he erected at a cost of $400,000 the Julius and Bertha Ochs Memorial Temple and Community House for the Mizpah Congregation. The Adolph S. Ochs Observatory and Museum stands on Lookout Mountain and overlooks the city. The Museum is located on Umbrella Rock in Point Park and is maintained by the U. S. Park Service. It commands a splendid view of the Great Smokies and Blue Ridge Mountains. He donated 3000 acres for the Lookout Mountain Park on the spot where the ferocious battles of Chicka-

mauga and Missionary Ridge were fought in the Civil War. The main road to the Park is known as Ochs Highway.

The city and its people had the opportunity to show their appreciation when the *Chattanooga Times* celebrated its 50th Anniversary. In a three-day public holiday the citizenry paid their tributes in a series of dinners, parties, luncheons and processions. Crowds cheered him on the streets and speakers eulogized him on rostrums. In the city hall Adolph S. Ochs was officially declared the Citizen Emeritus of Chattanooga.

Towards Judaism he evinced a loyalty derived from his father who acted as lay rabbi in Knoxville and later of the Chattanooga community until his death in 1888. But the influence of his father-in-law was far more potent. He accepted in toto the theology of Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, theoretician of Reform Judaism and both saw Jewish life only in terms of religion; no other interpretation existed for them. A Jewish state was altogether superfluous since both rabbi and publisher had in the U.S.A. their national home. A trip to Palestine modified his views somewhat regarding the Yishuv without changing his attitude towards Zionism. Yet according to the biographer Gerald Johnson, the last years of Ochs' life were clouded by the approaching shadows cast by Hitler and the bigotry of the Ku Kluxers and other hate mongers. He contributed to Jewish charities for home and overseas and headed a committee to raise $5,000,000 for the Hebrew Union College. He set the example by donating $500,000 for himself and wife.

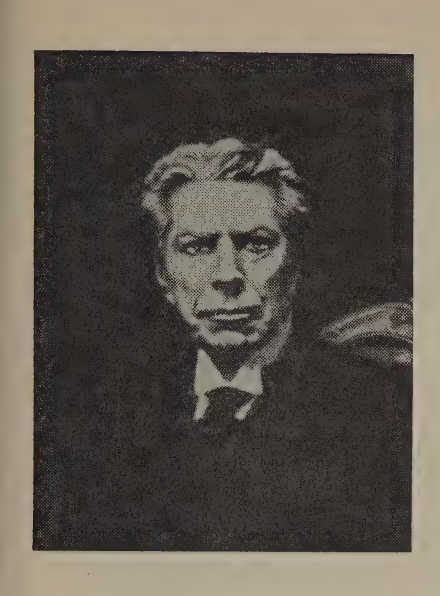
Recognition came from many quarters. Medals were awarded by foundations and honorary degrees were conferred by universities. The decorations of foreign governments were offered, but he accepted only the honor of Chevalier and later Commander of France's Legion of Honor. In presenting the degree from Columbia University, the President, Nicholas Murray Butler, said of Adolph S. Ochs:

"The master mind of the outstanding triumph of modern journalism in any land; building on the firm foundation of sound principle and large vision a great organ of public education and public opinion, which now has no equal in influence, which sets the

standard of excellence for newspaper service and the fair and adequate treatment of the world's news, and which faithfully represents the United States to the world and the world to the United States. I gladly admit you to the degree of Doctor of Laws."



NEW YORK TIMES BUILDING.



1905

DAVID LUBIN

Agrarian Missionary

MEN OF ENERGY and intellect often lead obscure lives while persons less endowed leap to fame and fortune. The real reason for success and failure has never been satisfactorily ascertained. In the case of David Lubin an incident during his first week on earth might have contributed to an unusual, if not an eminent, career.

In the town of Klodowa near Lemberg in Galicia, Friday evening was approaching and every male, adult or boy, went to the synagogue. In one humble house a mother was in bed with her four-day-old child. She had to bless the candles that ushered in the brightly lit Sabbath. A piece of burning wick fell on the babe's cheek and it let out a prolonged yell. The helpless mother could do nothing but weep and await her husband's return. He came, and as was customary among the pious, brought along a Sabbath guest. The stranger, steeped in mystical lore and saturated with the Hassidic faith still burning in 1849, rebuked the mother for crying on the holy Sabbath instead of rejoicing. As for the child, the Zoharite continued, it had received a special mark of Divine favor through the medium of the burning candle that was blessed. The Lord had

dedicated the child unto his service. He shall be named after King David and grow up a mighty man in Israel.

It may be quite simple to dismiss the incident as rank superstition, yet who can deny with certainty its psychologic determinism? David's mother was intelligent and possessed strength of character together with deep religious fervor. She believed in the rabbi's prognosis and raised her son to believe in his dedication. She would chase away the other children who might disturb his reading or meditation. The scar remained on his cheek and perhaps kept reminding him that destiny had assigned to him a special mission.

Shortly after the candle episode, David's father died and the widow married Solomon Weinstock. A pogrom in the town warned the family to leave the Czar's benighted domain in 1851, long before emigration out of Russia assumed the proportions of a tidal wave. A two-year stay in England was the prelude for settlement in America. In New York David went to the wretched public school of the ante-bellum period and at 12 felt lucky when he obtained a job in Attleboro, Massachusetts, polishing the gold plate on cheap jewelry at $3.60 a week. For the next ten years he led the life of a migratory worker, doing odd jobs, working as a lumberjack in California, a gold prospector in Arizona, a travelling salesman for a New York hardware concern. His step-brother Harris Weinstock who had $600 induced David to open a dry goods store with him in San Francisco.

But soon David decided to be on his own. He went to Sacramento, the crude mining town and state capital, and rented a small store above a basement saloon. The sign, D. LUBIN—ONE PRICE, showed originality at a time and place when haggling and bargaining were habitual in retailing. Laughed at in the beginning, Lubin's Mechanics Store, as he named it later, attained a reputation for honesty and became the largest retail business in the city. A branch store in San Francisco also prospered. The Lubin enterprises developed a new form of business, the mail-order house, which became the largest on the Pacific coast.

Well-to-do at 35, David Lubin yielded to the prodding of his

devout mother and visited the Holy Land with her. In 1884 Palestine was in a state of waste and neglect. The pre-Herzl Zionists were beginning to plant colonies in Rosh Pina and Petah Tikva, in Nes Ziona and Rishon le Zion. Yet the ancient fatherland exuded a certain austere charm. Lubin envisaged Biblical Israel as a commonwealth of small farmers with high moral ideas of social and political righteousness. The small free landowner in the ancient and modern world appeared to him the basic unit of a social and economic democracy. It was a sad day when Jews were deflected from the soil and debased by earning their living as traders and *luftmenschen*. But Israel's true mission was to restore justice, economic freedom and righteousness to the world. In Palestine the idea took hold of him that mankind could only be regenerated through agriculture.

Mere idealizing of agriculture without practical knowledge derived from experience can degenerate into idle day dreaming. Idealism must be harnessed with work in order to achieve results. Thus without giving up his business interests, David Lubin acquired a grove in California and started fruit growing. By the end of the year he raised a bumper crop. So did the other farmers and all shipped their products to the markets. When payment came they found that their grapes, peaches or apricots should have been left to rot in the fields. The returns did not justify the cost of harvesting and shipping, much less pay the labor of planting. Something was radically wrong and Lubin set out to unravel the complicated reasons.

Investigation led to the conclusion that freight rates demanded by the carriers were not only too high for the products shipped but in the long run tended to decrease the very tonnage that railroads were aiming to increase. But the *bete noire* of the system was the middleman, who as commission agent exacted a percentage rate so stiff that prices were high, often prohibitive, for the consumer. Yet the grower did not benefit by the high market price, in fact it was sometimes even ruinous to him. The solution lay in eliminating the commission merchant and substituting in his place the cooperative

agency that would sell farm products at a minimum overhead.

Basically David Lubin was a man of action, although a theorist of no mean stature. The California fruit growers needed organizing, but farmers, notoriously individualist, generally lack promotional ability. It was up to Lubin to take the initiative and galvanize his theories through the Fruit Growers' Convention he organized. Yet an organization is but the springboard of its founders or leaders. He had to become agitator and pamphleteer in selling the cooperative idea. He wrote articles for newspapers, published brochures, held public meetings, addressed legislatures and chambers of commerce. He created the methods of marketing that opened a new chapter in American cooperatives. Persuasion had to be used to induce railroad executives to lower freight rates as a sound business measure. Lubin's ideas became permanent when the convention he formed was absorbed by the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, which became a bulwark in the economy of the West Coast.

Yet fruit growers had but limited problems confined to reducing freight rates and eliminating the middleman. Next Lubin tried grain-growing and ran into complications caused by world wide conditions that brought about price fluctuations in agricultural products. Ocean freights and tariffs imposed by governments produced barriers that maintained prices artificially. On the other hand overproduction ruined farmers in one country while at the same time crop failures brought on starvation in other lands. These problems, worldwide in scope and of concern to all nations, were neglected by the very powers charged with maintenance of economic stability in their respective countries.

David Lubin delved into the causes and effects responsible for maladjustment in the price structure of staples. He found that since prices of wheat were governed by world conditions then a depression in one land lowered the price range in other places. Exploitations, manipulations, market cornering, and artificial price fixing were evils to be abolished. Prices of farm staples should be governed by the natural laws of supply and demand and not controlled through legislation, tariffs or cartels. Nor should the lawful flow of agricul-

tural products be impeded by national or state boundaries. Agriculture being a universal concern, its production and distribution should be regulated by international action through a world organization composed of representatives of all nations.

A world organization seemed too big a job to tackle. At first Lubin concentrated his energies in urging the United States to assume the leadership in lining up the nations on all six continents for globular action. And since a prophet is seldom regarded in his own country, the Washington governmental agencies paid slight attention to his pleas. Filled with the zeal of a crusader, he could see no other recourse than bringing his cause to the people. He traveled from coast to coast speaking to church groups and fraternal lodges, addressing conventions, legislatures, chambers of commerce, haranguing county fairs, political clubs and labor meetings—in short talking to anyone who would listen. He memorialized Congress and nagged Federal and State officials. He bombarded newspapers and magazines with articles and disseminated pamphlets throughout the land.

His efforts were not completely ignored. In Philadelphia 55 ministers formed a Lubin Club. Lubinism became a movement which proposed a federal subsidy to farmers who exported agricultural products, to equalize the tariff benefits enjoyed by manufacturers. The bill reached Congress and its defeat caused disappointment throughout the agrarian belt. Among the first to agitate for a parcel post, he lived to see the postal system deliver packages to farms and rural outposts. But these were minor measures that never deflected him from the great objective, to see an international body established to regulate agricultural production and distribution.

By 1897 he felt exhausted physically and spiritually. The crusade had used up a fortune. He remarried, reorganized his business in the department store of Weinstock, Lubin and Co. and wrote the book *Let There Be Light.* While rebuilding his health, he reformulated the agrarian concepts that should regenerate mankind. The scar on his face kept alive the mystical flame constantly generated by the words of the ancient prophets. The mission of Israel can

neither be usurped nor evaded. God's commandment to Abraham, "Go, and be a blessing to all nations" carried with it the admonition to bring the ideal of "just weight and just measure" to all the world. Lubin was gripped by a messianic fervor of world salvation. Like Jeremiah or Jonah, he could neither be silent nor evade his mission.

He now turned to Europe. London and Paris gave him the same cold reception he received in Washington. In Rome he got the usual run around from one official to the other. Suddenly an idea seized him with the force of inspiration—or was it the frequent harping of his mother, "My boy David will sit with Kings." Why not go directly to Victor Emmanuel III? The King was vacationing in Pisa, and Lubin obtained a letter of introduction from Luigi Luzzatti, the Jewish economist and Minister of the Treasury. Graciously the King granted him a few minutes at nine o'clock on a Sunday morning.

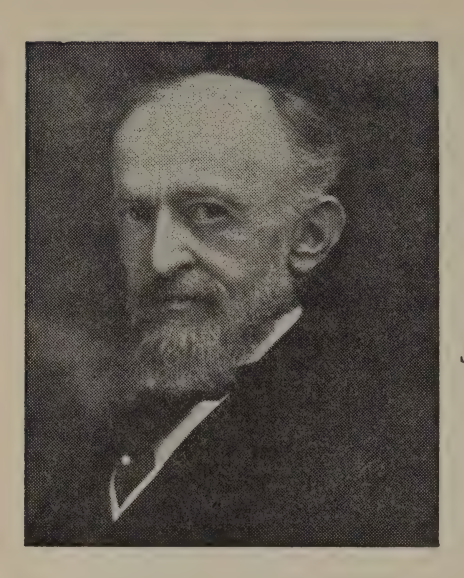
Apparently there are no rules of conduct for anyone touched with a spark of divine fire. Royalty has ever been approached with studied etiquette. Yet Lubin used the language of the rough miners in Bret Harte's *The Luck of Roaring Camp*. Imagine anyone telling a King to his face, "You are of course a very important person here, but remember you are a small potato in the world, the monarch of a third-rate country. Take up this work in earnest and at one leap Italy can head the nations in the great fight of our day—the fight for justice in economic relations." Evidently such talk was more effective than diplomatic double talk. Impressed, Victor Emmanuel prolonged the interview and listened attentively.

Three months after the audience with David Lubin, the King of Italy ordered invitations sent out to a number of governments to assist in forming an organization, unpolitical in character, that would gather information about agriculture everywhere and seek to foster trade in farm products. On May 25, 1905 delegates of 40 nations met in Rome and organized the International Institute of Agriculture. The deliberations were intelligent and sincere. No one suggested holding conventions for brilliant orations, to be followed

by the passage of pious resolutions. Nor did anyone propose to set up a mere bureau to gather facts. A permanent body of free cooperation was formed that would guide its members by distributing information as to crop conditions in all lands and assist agricultural authorities of each country to plan the policies affecting its farming economy.

Never before did a voluntary aggregation of nations, free of force or coercion and divested of all political advantage, function in such a manner. The following year the U.S.A. joined, and President Theodore Roosevelt appointed David Lubin its first representative. In 1908 King Victor Emmanuel presented the Institute with a building in the Villa Borghese. Is it possible that the smooth working of this association of nations carried the germ idea of international cooperation to the Peace Conference at Versailles a decade later? For during the First World War the Institute's continuous operation with all active members, including Germany and Austria, was perhaps a most telling argument for organizing the League of Nations.

Until his death David Lubin remained Director of the Institute and its leading spirit. He conceived of such benefits to farmers as rural credits through cooperative banking. He continued advocating cooperative marketing, and to free farming from speculation he favored the regulation of agricultural prices by governments. Some of the Institute's experiments were attempted by the New Deal in Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration. In 1946 the International Institute of Agriculture became part of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. On January 1, 1919 David Lubin died in Rome and his funeral took place during the tumultuous welcome accorded to Woodrow Wilson. On the 25th anniversary of the Institute's establishment, delegates of 70 nations made a pilgrimage to his grave. In 1939 the City of Rome named a street "Via David Lubin."



1906

OSCAR S. STRAUS

Secretary of Commerce and Labor

THE LEAN YEARS of the Confederate "total war" found Oscar Straus in his early teens. The devastation of Georgia resulting from Sherman's march to the sea caused Lazarus Straus to move north with his family. At 15 Oscar had little difficulty in gaining admittance to Columbia Grammar School, his defective war time schooling having been supplemented by voracious reading. Two years later he passed the examination to enter Columbia College. After 4 years of academic training and two additional years at the Law School, Oscar became a full fledged lawyer. A word from his brother Isidor landed him in the most prominent law office of New York.

After several months Oscar left Ward, Jones and Whitehead and formed the partnership of Hudson and Straus. Practice came immediately and increased rapidly. He did the trial work, than which there is nothing more exacting or nerve-wracking. His health could hardly stand the strain. Straus liked the strenuous work, and rather than restrict his activities in the law he decided to leave the profession. His father and brother considered Oscar an asset in any

business and welcomed him into the glass and china firm of L. Straus and Son.

In business Oscar Straus found more leisure for reading and research than when he served the Law—traditionally a jealous and exacting mistress. When 32, he married Sarah Lavanburg, a woman of charm and personality, and together they began raising their family. He indulged his scholarly aptitudes by preparing a paper on *The Origin of the Republican Form of Government in the United States* and read it before the Young Men's Hebrew Association. This organization Straus and other prominent Jews founded in imitation of the Y.M.C.A., but with emphasis on cultural and intellectual advancement rather than religion. This lecture was well received by the large audience. Next morning the papers gave it generous space and he was asked to repeat it before the Long Island Historical Society. Then he developed and enlarged the thesis that the New England Commonwealth had its origin in the ancient Hebrew democracy under the judges. This essay was published in book form, reprinted several times and translated into foreign languages. A French edition appeared with an introduction by an eminent Belgian publicist and academician. This book established Oscar Straus as scholar and writer and laid the foundations for his diplomatic career.

In the year of his marriage, Straus entered politics as secretary of the committee to re-elect William R. Grace Mayor of New York. It was an independent venture that won out against the opposition of an all-powerful Tammany. In 1884 he took part in the presidential campaign that enabled Cleveland to defeat Blaine by a narrow majority. On a business trip to Chicago he chanced to meet New York's Senator Gorman, who remarked that the Minister to Turkey would resign. Then, to his complete surprise, Gorman stated that he would like to recommend Oscar Straus for the post. Without diplomatic experience and in no position financially for the entertaining that such a position required, he hesitated. But with the warm assurances of support by the entire Straus family he consented.

In the interim, Gorman's relations with the President became strained. The Senator would not make the recommendation but advised Straus to use other influences. Cleveland was hesitant. While Jews had rendered distinguished service as consuls, none were as yet selected for the office of ambassador. Christian missions were the most important American interest in Turkey and these missionaries might object to Straus's religion. But a favorable public opinion rallied around the choice. The celebrated Carl Schurz and John Foord, managing editor of *The New York Times,* were strong in their support. Surprisingly, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions expressed approval. The most popular preacher in America, Henry Ward Beecher, wrote to President Cleveland: "It is because he is a Jew that I would urge the appointment as a fit recognition of this remarkable people, who are becoming large contributors to American prosperity, and whose intelligence, morality and large liberality in all public measures for the welfare of society deserve and should receive from the hands of our government some real recognition."

An episode that added interest to the Straus nomination was the refusal of Austria-Hungary to receive A. M. Keiley, Cleveland's appointee, as Minister. This decaying government, which would disintegrate in the course of 33 years, gave as its reason that Keiley's wife was *persona non grata* on account of her Jewish origin. But the diplomatic corps knew this to be untrue. Keily had made a violent speech again King Victor Emanuel II and was rejected the year before by Italy. Austria-Hungary in trying to please her Italian ally of the Triple Alliance resorted basely to religious prejudice. The incident went against the American grain and the President was eager to show certain European countries how Jews were regarded in the United States. Oscar Straus was nominated and confirmed.

The Turkish Empire, declining with the rapidity of a meteor, still retained the precedents and procedures introduced in the heroic age of 1453 when Constantinople fell like a ripe plum before the onslaughts of Mohammed's janissaries. Corruption in high

places permitted dignitaries to accept gifts of money on the signing of a treaty with any foreign power. Yet Oscar Straus was eminently successful during his short term as Minister. He did something unheard of in Turkey. After the routine filing of a claim he informed the astonished officials that he made a careful investigation and came to the conclusion that the demands of his fellow-countryman were without merit and need not be honored.

His influence seemed boundless. The Sultan asked him to arbitrate for the fee of one million francs an issue between his government and the famous Jewish financier, Baron Maurice de Hirsch, who had constructed the first railroad in Turkey. Straus refused to arbitrate, but consented to act as mediator without any fee. With much tact and patience he smoothed out differences after many disagreements and altercations. Finally when the Turkish claim of 132,000,000 francs was reduced to 22,000,000 by an international jurist, Straus induced both parties to accept the settlement. Thus ended the distasteful impasse to the satisfaction of both sides.

The American missionaries operating about 400 schools were harassed by Turkish officials. Thirty of their schools in Syria were closed and many teachers arrested. Parents were threatened with fine and imprisonment if they continued to send their children to these schools. Shortly after his arrival, Straus happened to find out that the Sublime Porte had formulated additional regulations that would after six months make it virtually impossible for foreign schools to function. Straus furnished the European ambassadors and the heads of American Missions with copies of the restricting regulations. Each acting separately, but with the same demands, induced the Grand Vizier to withdraw the restraining laws and permit existing schools to operate. But the envoys did not take Turkish promises too seriously. So Oscar Straus decided to visit the various provinces and see how orders from Constantinople were carried out. This visit helped to remove the final obstructions for the operation of missionary schools.

On arrival in Jerusalem, a large delegation of Jews came to plead for the release of friends and relatives imprisoned by the vali, as the

governor was called, because they intended to settle in their ancient homeland. Straus had previous knowledge of Russia and Roumania prodding Turkey, which had been tolerant and hospitable since the days of the Spanish Inquisition, to make life for incoming Jews difficult. Threatening to have the vali removed for treaty-breaking, he succeeded in getting the 400 Jews released. The High Rabbinate of Jerusalem presented Oscar Straus with a testimonial in large Hebrew letters.

Among his diplomatic achievements, after endless negotiations, were permission to enlarge Robert College, the missionary school on the Bosporus; allowing American and British book agents to sell the Bible or religious tracts; and securing a *firman* for Johns Hopkins and the University of Pennsylvania jointly to excavate the ruins of ancient Babylon. His term of office was ending. According to American custom, higher diplomatic posts are vacated with changes of administration. When Benjamin Harrison was elected, Oscar Straus tendered his resignation. He had enjoyed the post, yet was glad to return home and recoup his finances spent in the service of his country.

For the next ten years Straus remained at home attending to business. Yet his interest in public affairs continued unabated. The tragic plight of Jews in Russia impelled him to join a committee and confer with President Harrison, who incorporated their views in his message to Congress. Friendship with Baron de Hirsch resulted in various donations amounting to $62,000,000 for the benefit of Jews in the Western Hemisphere. The Strauses remained intimate friends of Grover Cleveland, in or out of office. Affiliated with the Democratic Party, they nevertheless disagreed with its platform plank on the free coinage of silver and actively supported William McKinley in the 1896 election.

President McKinley often consulted Oscar Straus on international problems as American relations with Spain deteriorated. Straus suggested that Spain confer Dominion status on Cuba with complete home rule. The President favored the idea and transmitted it to his Minister, who reported that Spain was receptive. But nothing

less than war would satisfy the Hearst and Pulitzer newspapers. Public opinion also clamored against Turkey for the massacre of Armenians and the runaround American travelers and missionaries were getting. Straus advised strongly against sending warships to the Bosporus "to rattle the windows of the Sultan," as favored by many, including the Minister to Turkey who resigned. The President urged Straus to accept his former post, promising to be guided solely by his judgment as the best qualified expert on Turkish affairs.

The Sultan received Straus as a long lost friend. Immediately the American Envoy began to unsnarl the troublesome tangles. Soon he stumbled into a piquant situation not altogether lacking in romance. With Dewey's victory at Manila all the Philippines passed under U. S. control. Few Westerners knew that some of the islands contained a large number Mohammedans. It was to the interest of trouble makers to spread propaganda that the new masters would not tolerate the Islamic faith. The Moslems made ready to join the revolt subsequently led by Aguinaldo. Straus immediately obtained an audience with Abdul Hamid, who as Sultan was also Caliph, the "Pope" over all Sunnite Moslems. Assuring the Sultan of Constitutional safeguards to freedom of worship for all dwellers on U. S. territory, he requested the Caliph to instruct his religious followers in the Philippines to accept American rule. The Sultan-Caliph wondered if the Filipinos were Sunnites who went on pilgrimages to Mecca. Straus, playing a hunch, suggested telegraphing the Holy City of Arabia. The answer disclosed that two Sulu chieftains and their tribesmen were there. The Caliph ordered the Philippine chiefs to return home and present his command for all Moslems to place themselves under American army protection. Thus a holy war was averted, about 20,000 American lives were spared and millions of dollars saved.

Again Straus resigned and returned home. Shortly thereafter McKinley was assassinated and Theodore Roosevelt became President. One of his first public acts was to appoint Oscar Straus a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

Roosevelt had a high opinion of Straus and often called him to Oyster Bay and to Washington for consultations. In fact he became a member of the President's "kitchen cabinet." One day in 1906 after a luncheon at the White House, Roosevelt said: "I don't know whether you know it or not, but I want you to become a member of my Cabinet. I have a very high estimate of your character, your judgment and your ability, and I want you for personal reasons. There is still a further reason: I want to show Russia and some other countries what we think of Jews in this country."

Oscar Solomon Straus became Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor in the Roosevelt Cabinet and served with distinction to the end of the administration. This was the meridian of his career. The succeeding President, William H. Taft, promised Roosevelt to retain Straus but changed his mind. Instead he was offered the Ambassadorship to Turkey, now raised to the rank of an Embassy. Straus did not relish the same post for a third time, but Secretary of State Knox stressed the strategic importance of the position by reason of the recent revolution, during which the "Young Turks" swept away the old regime with its medievalism.

Straus found a changed world. His old friends were gone. Abdul Hamid had been dethroned in favor of his imprisoned brother, who rated somewhat higher than a moron. Straus served for two years when Theodore Roosevelt requested his presence in Cairo. There the ex-President unfolded his plan about forming a third party to run against Taft, who by rejecting his policies disappointed him. Straus resigned and joined Roosevelt in organizing the Bull Moose Party. He ran for Governor of New York and, although defeated in the three-cornered race, received more votes than Theodore Roosevelt, the most popular and colorful public man in America.

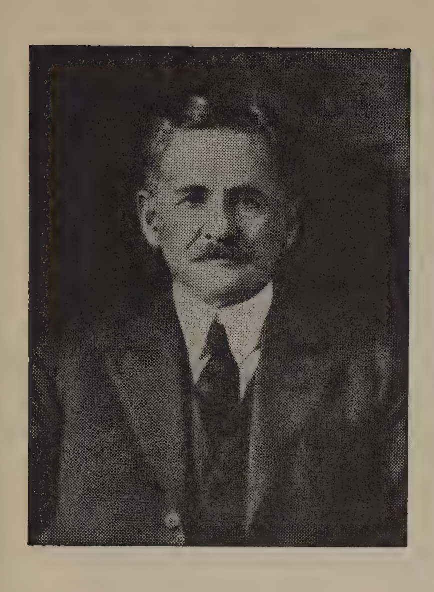
Unlike some who attain prominence, Oscar Straus never deemed it expedient to forsake or ignore the people of his origin. Throughout a busy life replete with action, he stood among the top leaders of American Jewry. Often leading, sometimes following, he labored to raise the standards of the emancipated at home or ameliorate

the conditions of the persecuted abroad. When the civilized world was shocked by the Kishineff massacre in 1903, he headed a committee to collect funds for the stricken and abused. Three years later he participated in forming the American Jewish Committee to safeguard the rights of Jews everywhere. Historian of *Roger Williams, the Pioneer of Religious Liberty in the United States,* he could not overlook the story of his own coreligionists in America. Thus he became a founder of the American Jewish Historical Society and served as its first President from 1892 to 1898. Loyal to the synagogue and concerned with the larger Jewish charities in New York, he was a governor of Dropsie College for Hebrew and cognate learning, a trustee of the Jewish Publication Society of America, and President of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of Atlanta. Though not a Zionist, he nevertheless advised Theodor Herzl not to rely upon subordinates but negotiate personally with Sultan Abdul Hamid in the Turkish capital.

During the First World War, Oscar Straus endeavored to bring about some form of arbitration that would bring peace. A number of conferences with foreign ambassadors, with the Secretary of State, with the President himself, were of no avail. He became active in the League to Enforce Peace, of which ex-President Taft was chairman. When the war ended, he was sent to France by this organization to help bring into existence the League of Nations. He was very helpful. On the occasion of a deadlock between President Wilson and Leon Bourgeois, Col. House declared that "the League of Nations was on the rocks." But Straus won the French Senator over to the American view, and two days later the preliminary covenant of the League of Nations was agreed to by the delegates of the 30 nations attending the Versailles Peace Conference. In a letter to Oscar Straus, Woodrow Wilson wrote, "I want to take the opportunity to say how valuable in every way your support of and enthusiasm for the League of Nations has been."

When President Wilson was meeting strong opposition in the Senate, Col. House telegraphed Straus to come home and help with

the ratification of the Treaty and Covenant by clarifying the League of Nations to certain Senators. It was a deep disappointment to the aging Oscar S. Straus that the United States did not rise to its historic duty and responsibility in bringing about a permanent world peace through the League of Nations.



1907

ALBERT A. MICHELSON

Nobel Prize Winner

THE PHYSICIST AND WINNER of the Nobel Prize, Robert A. Millikan wrote: "Michelson received no religious training, had no interest in Judaism, and took no part in Jewish community affairs." This is the understatement of a scientist. A biographer might add that Albert Abraham Michelson shied away from his fellow-Jews and managed to maintain a wide chasm with no bridge to cross, even on rare occasions, over to the terrain of the stock that gave him the intellect responsible for his eminence.

Such an attitude reflects the consequence of persecution. In 1852 Albert was born near the Polish border in Posen, occupied by Prussia since Frederick the Great joined to carve up Poland in 1772. After 1918 Posen went back to Poland. This Province was no paradise for the Jewish minority caught between the conflicting animosities of Lutheran Teutons and Catholic Slavs. The Poles resented Jewish leaning towards the Germans as the lesser of two evils. The failure of the 1848 Revolution caused many Jews and liberals to emigrate. In 1854 Samuel Michelson landed with his wife and two-year-old Albert in New York. Having a sister in

California, he took a boat for Panama, crossed the Isthmus by cart and brought his family to San Francisco.

California was still the world of gold-seekers and prospectors. In this climate of license it was easy for the Michelsons to lose their bearings, especially since no law required registering with a religious *gemeinde* for tax purposes, as in Posen. In the period of *Emancipation* religion lost its grip upon many German Jews. And if Judaism was no longer necessary, then why preserve the bonds of loyalty with the Jewish people? Of course Samuel Michelson might have observed that, in spite of the apparent laxity, churches were going up on all sides. The general friendliness among newcomers, except towards the Chinese, seemed to indicate a new era in social relations. Everything pointed to a desirable consummation: complete assimilation into the environment at the expense of Judaism and the folk consciousness of 3000 years. In this atmosphere Albert Michelson was reared.

The family moved to Murphy's Camp, a miners' settlement in which Samuel ran a dry goods store. Albert grew older and was sent to attend high school at San Francisco. Scientific interest got him the job of taking care of the school's physical instruments at $3.00 a month. At 16 he returned home, which was now Virginia City, booming on account of a fabulous silver strike, the Comstock Lode. It appeared a foregone conclusion that a good student such as Albert would continue his education. His mother, daughter of a well known physician, wanted her boy to study medicine. But the father, still under the spell of Prussian goose-stepping had fond dreams of seeing his son in naval uniform. Nevada's quota for Annapolis was open and Albert competed with another boy. The examination resulted in a tie and his rival, son of a Civil War veteran with political influence, received the appointment.

Yet Nevada's Senator advised that Albert travel to Washington and see the President, who had the power to issue ten "appointments-at-large." Ulysses S. Grant informed Albert that the ten appointments were exhausted, yet suggested that he speak to the

Secretary of War, who advised him to visit Annapolis. Albert conferred with the Commandant and waited to see whether any appointee would fail in the examination. Disappointed again, he started for Washington when a messenger ordered him back to Annapolis. The President had conferred upon him the 11th appointment. The legality of this appointment may be questioned, yet it made possible some scientific tests of cosmic importance.

On graduation Albert was commissioned a midshipman and saw two years' service in the Navy. He then became instructor of chemistry and physics at the U. S. Naval Academy. While preparing a lecture on the velocity of light, Michelson was struck by the inadequacy of the three methods of measurement thus far made. In 1675 the Danish scientist, Olaus Römer, by watching for the reappearance of one of Jupiter's four satellites, computed the speed of light at 180,000 miles per second. In 1849 a Frenchman, Armand Fizeau, calculated the velocity at 195,344 miles per second. Thirteen years later Jean Foucault fixed the figure at 185,150. Michelson felt that science needed an accurate determination of velocity that would settle the question forever. He went to work and expended $10 on a rotating and stationary flat mirror, an improvement on Foucault's instrument. At 26 he determined the speed of light at 186,508 miles a second. This computation was submitted to the American Association for the Advancement of Science. His finding has never been challenged and remains the standard velocity of light universally accepted by the scientific world. Father Michelson had the pleasure of reading about his son's remarkable discovery in the Virginia City newspaper.

The first experiment gave Michelson international standing. In 1879 he resigned from the Naval Academy and spent a year with the Nautical Almanac in Washington, then several years in Europe studying at Heidelburg, Berlin and the College de France. The nature of light in its various aspects consumed his interest. "Of course," he declared, "nobody knows *what* light is. It is everywhere. Without it, we could not live, nothing could grow. One of its

characteristics is heat, another is illumination and a third is color. But what light really *is* nobody knows. However, we do know a good deal about how it acts."

Since light is everywhere, in a vacuum as well as in the air, the question arises: In and through which media does light travel? There was an old theory that light waves move through the ether. But what is ether? Is it stationary or does the earth carry it along in its orbit? It was also necessary to know whether light travels through water with the same velocity as through air. The many problems that had to be solved led Michelson to invent the *interferometer,* which he declared was even more important than the experiments themselves. It could replace the microscope in measuring tiny displacements. It could also measure extremely small angles and thus displace the telescope. According to Michelson, "Measurements of this kind made by the interferometer are from 20 to 50 times as accurate as the corresponding measurements by microscope or telescope."

With the interferometer Michelson together with E. W. Morley attempted to ascertain the existence of the ether. He sent out two beams of light of equal distance, one straight and the other at right angles. Both beams shot out at the same time and both returned to their starting point at the same time. He then argued that if the ether existed there would have been a delay in one of the returning beams because of an interference when their light waves crossed each other. He attempted many experiments which would be difficult to describe in non-technical language. He proved that the speed of light is less in water than in air and that the velocity of red light is 2 per cent greater than blue light.

But the most astonishing feat of the interferometer, at least to the layman, was its measuring the size of the star Betelgeuse in Orion's Belt, probably the greatest single mass in the universe. The nearest star to the earth is 25 trillion miles away, and Betelgeuse is much further. Michelson computed the diameter of this star to be 240,000,000 miles. When we consider that the earth is 8000 miles wide and the diameter of the sun is 864,000 miles then we must

realize how people were electrified to learn that the star Betelgeuse can hold in its orb 28,000,000 of our suns. Michelson was the first scientist in history to determine the size of a distant star.

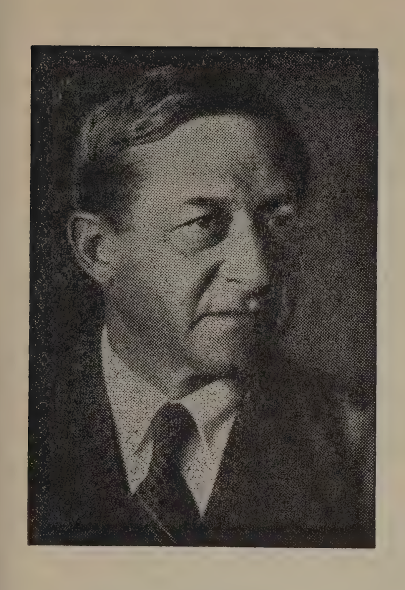
On his return from Europe, Michelson taught physics at Case School of Applied Science, then at Clark University. From 1892 until his retirement 37 years later, he was head of the Physics Department at the University of Chicago. His experiments, discoveries and conclusions were heralded by the scientific world. He received honors from learned societies in various parts of the world, particularly in England, France, Germany and Italy. Many American universities conferred honorary degrees. The Royal Society of London bestowed on him the Copley Gold Medal, a mark of the highest distinction. In 1907 he was awarded the Nobel Prize of $40,000 for Physics from the Swedish Academy of Science. If we except the Peace Prize to Theodore Roosevelt in 1906 from the same source, then Albert A. Michelson was the first American to receive the Nobel Prize.

Unquestionably Michelson possessed great gifts in scientific inquiry. But close scrutiny does not disclose a similar stature outside his special field. In private life he seemed aloof, unapproachable and altogether too wrapped up in his greatness. His photographs show meticulous grooming and care in selecting clothes, in marked contrast to the careless humility of Albert Einstein in beret, sweater and baggy trousers. Nor was he free of the personal vanity which craves admiration for skill in billiards. He actually took lessons to improve his billiard shots. In later years he practiced incessantly to perfect his game of tennis, which exercise he seemed to cultivate more for preserving good form than for maintaining health. On occasion he could step out of scientific mufti and descend to the intellectual level of the Annapolis midshipman. When the *U.S.S. Maine* exploded in Havana harbor he joined the xenophobes in their clamor for instant war to avenge the national affront. He turned a deaf ear to his colleagues at the University of Chicago when they deplored the hysteria and asked for a more objective approach in forming an opinion only after complete investigation.

It seems strange that the cautious scientist could not see that it was to the interest of the Cuban rebels to blow up the *Maine* rather than of the Spaniards, who were ready for any concession to avoid war with the North American giant.

Some of Michelson's experiments brought confusion to the scientists, grounded in the maxims of Copernicus or Sir Isaac Newton who believed that mass was constant, motion was absolute, and rest was absolute. Many of his tests made little sense to physicists until Albert Einstein published his world-shattering *Theory of Relativity* and demonstrated that there was neither absolute motion nor absolute rest. Motion is relative depending upon the observer's position or movement and has to be referred to some mass such as the earth, the sun or some body in the universe. While Einstein's theory was pure mathematics and arrived at without any help from experiments by physicists, yet Michelson's findings were important in convincing Einstein of the truth of his Special and General Theory of Relativity. Michelson must have been encouraged when his theory was confirmed by Einstein's statement that the speed of light is constant and one of the few unchanging constants in nature.

In a biographical memoir of Albert A. Michelson read to the National Academy of Sciences in 1938, Robert A. Millikan gave an estimate of his friend and teacher thus: "Michelson, pure experimentalist, designer of instruments, refiner of techniques, lives as a physicist because in the field of optics he drove the refinement of measurement to its limits and by so doing showed a skeptical world what far-reaching consequences can follow from that sort of process and what new vistas of knowledge can be opened up by it. It was a lesson the world had to learn. The results of learning it are reflected today in the extraordinary recent discoveries—among others—in the field of electronics, of radio-activity, of vitamins, of hormones, and of nuclear structure. All these fields owe a large debt to Michelson, the pioneer in the art of measurement of extraordinary minute quantities and effects."



1908

JUDAH L. MAGNES

Dissenting Idealist

THE MOST SENSATIONAL SERMON heard in any American synagogue was delivered on the Passover of 1910 in the Fifth Avenue cathedral of Reform Judaism. The 33-year-old Rabbi of Temple Emanuel, tall and athletic, Anglo-Saxon in appearance and meticulously groomed, could easily pass for a country club habitue emerging from the golf links. The sermon, a scathing denunciation in the *musar* tradition, castigated the congregants for indifference to their ancient faith. It stressed the failings of Reform and questioned the sincerity of the membership as to their intentions of remaining within the fold of Judaism.

The press seized upon this jeremiad and a storm blew up. Actually the strictures of Judah L. Magnes were quite familiar. In his two years as rabbi at Emanuel he had thundered from the pulpit against intermarriage and against rabbis who sanctified mixed unions. When a trustee marched down the aisle in St. Patrick's Cathedral and gave away his daughter to a Hungarian Count, the tirade delivered by Magnes caused him to resign. On another occasion he stigmatized the hypocrisy of such temple

directors as regretted their Judaism. Thus it caused little surprise when the vestry failed to renew the contract. On vacating the post with a sigh of relief, he was idolized by Zionists and the radicals of the Lower East Side.

Yet this gesture in the grand maner of an ancient prophet did cause general astonishment. Many found it difficult to understand any rabbi throwing over the most influential pulpit in all the Americas. The ultra-Orthodox might understand such a move from a *tzadick* saturated with Yeshiva lore and mystic emotion. But Judah Leib Magnes, born in San Francisco, had attended the Temple since childhood. At 17 he entered Hebrew Union College and the University of Cincinnati. After graduating he studied two years longer, then embarked for Europe. When 25 he received a doctorate at Heidelburg and returned to New York.

In his *Gallery of Zionist Profiles,* Louis Lipsky writes "I met Judah L. Magnes when he returned from his studies in Germany . . . in a kosher restaurant on Canal Street. He insisted that it be kosher. He was a tall, spare young man with a light beard, who smiled generously with an easy friendliness and confessed without provocation that in Berlin he had been converted to Othodoxy, that he had attended a Zionist Congress and knew Theodor Herzl . . . He was a charming man and wanted to see what was going on the East Side and the Yiddish theatre. Soon he was speaking at Zionist meetings."

One might ask why Magnes sought the pulpit of Brooklyn's Temple Israel? At that time Reformers generally displayed animosity towards Orthodoxy and Zionism. There were mutterings, to be sure, about their rabbi associating with East European radicals, especially Socialists. But he left Brooklyn for Temple Emanuel and married the capable, charming niece of Louis Marshall, president of the congregation and leader of Reform Jewry.

Conservative B'nai Jeshurun, the second oldest synagogue in New York, promptly elected Magnes. Such leaders as Solomon Schechter, Cyrus Adler and Mayer Sulzberger were elated. Now the young rabbi could fulfill his mission. The induction seemed a

turning point that marked the Jewish revival of American Jewish youth. Large crowds came to hear him. But the situation became strained. Magnes insisted on a reversal towards Orthodoxy. The organ in use for 35 years had to be removed. Before the year ended he resigned. He had reached the pinnacle and never again would attain similar influence or popularity.

Zionism had attracted Magnes since Herzl convoked the first Congress in 1897. He even attended the sixth Congress in 1903, and received warm applause when he translated to the plenary session Max Nordau's speech into English and Zangwill's into German. Native born and well educated, the idealistic Reform Rabbi with a silver tongue was welcomed with open arms by the American Federation of Zionists. No place in Zionism seemed beyond his reach. But the many contradictions in his complex make-up subsequently nullified his usefulness. The final split resulted from a chain of unfortunate circumstances that began with the Kehillah.

Conditions in New York seemed to cry out for some kind of community wide organization to handle the many problems facing a population of 1,500,000 Jews, the largest Jewish aggregation in history. The need for organizing came to the fore when Police Commissioner Bingham in 1908 wrote an article for the *North American Review* charging that over half the criminals in New York were Jews. This was a gross libel, and Magnes took a leading part in the investigation that proved the statement an arrant lie. Bingham's retraction only demonstrated the need of a permanent council ready to deal with similar situations. Under the chairmanship of Magnes the Kehillah was formed to represent the Jews of New York in all local matters. The charter contained an extensive program covering education, religious training, employment, arbitration and mediation of internal matters, a bureau for assembling information, and cooperation with all organizations for public welfare and moral uplift. Manifold duties as head of the Kehillah and many Zionist activities monopolized the full time of Magnes after he severed all rabbinical connections.

Unexpectedly the First World War came and affected the general

climate of Jewish life. World Zionist leadership was suddenly thrust upon American Jewry. Large sums had to be raised for the relief of war sufferers. Connected with the American Jewish Committee yet influential in Zionist affairs, the Kehillah could be very useful in helping to sustain the new burdens. But unfortunately the strong pacifist convictions of Magnes neutralized its effectiveness. His peculiar pro-German attitude went counter to the pro-Allied Zionist policy. Magnes not only lost popularity but became suspect to the Federal Government. Pacifism led to non-cooperation, then to opposing conscription and the war effort. His pacifist leadership perturbed friends who feared he might compromise the patriotism of American Jews. Long established institutions such as the venerable Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue withdrew their Kehillah membership. And since Magnes was the heart and soul of the organization, its days were numbered. When he resigned the Kehillah remained for a while in suspended animation, then expired.

More complicated was his break with Zionism. Its romantic idealism, rejuvenating philosophy and cultural stimulus exercised a powerful appeal, yet Magnes was never in accord with its political aims. He lived Zionism without regard for the organized movement, with its clash of personalities, its practical objectives, its partisan struggles, its democratic processes. Yet he rendered important service when American Zionism was badly in need of prestige, membership, funds and influential leaders. His pacifist antennae seemed to sense the ultimate revolutionary coils embedded in the basic dynamo of Zionism. A showdown was inevitable and it came during the war.

In the war's second year Zionists began to talk about making demands for a Jewish State at the Peace Conference. Yet to be effective such a request must come from a united Jewry. The Zionists, though highly articulate, represented but a small fraction of the people. American Jewry should at least set the example by uniting on this petition. But the American Jewish Committee, spokesman of U. S. Jewry, maintained a hostile attitude towards

Zionism. A movement sprang up to call a congress that would represent all American Jews. The American Jewish Committee, led by Louis Marshall, objected to a popular election of delegates and proposed instead a conference attended by heads of the more important organizations. A bitter struggle arose. The masses, thoroughly aroused, resented dictation by a self-appointed, self-perpetuating oligarchy out of sympathy with the hopes and desires of the majority. A newcomer in Jewish life, Louis D. Brandeis, leader of the democratic masses, championed the Congress with fervent yet dignified statesmanship.

In this hot contest Magnes made the great mistake of his life. It is true that the Kehillah was tied to the American Jewish Committee and Marshall was his wife's uncle. But Magnes was a member of the Provisional Executive Committee for Zionist affairs, which under the direction of Brandeis, took over the management of Zionist effort at home and abroad. Magnes was in a strange predicament. Heretofore a tribune of the plain people in their fight for a Jewish homeland, he now found himself in the camp of wealth and prestige, arrayed against the Zionist forces and their peerless leader, who stood out as the greatest personality in American Jewish history.

The anomaly of his position became irksome. In a letter of resignation to Brandeis, dated June 15, 1915, he declared: "The Zionist Organization has seen fit to refuse the invitation to participate in a general Jewish Conference, to reject a plea for unity. I am not willing to sin against my people in being a partisan of any kind in this crisis of Jewish history." This step severed his connection with Zionism as a movement and led to his loss of prestige and the ultimate disintegration of the Kehillah.

The dislocation of hundreds of thousands of Jews in the war zone furnished a new outlet for the energies and idealism of Magnes. Enormously effective in fund raising, he helped to amalgamate the newly sprung up relief agencies into the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which for decades would rival the Red Cross in the scope of its achievements. The "Joint"

sent him to the afflicted lands. What he saw and heard confirmed his pacifist convictions and deepened his compassion for Jewish suffering.

Returning home brought little joy when he beheld his native land drifting into the great struggle. Nor could he share in the lyrical transports with which his brethren hailed the Balfour Declaration. To him nationalism bred jingoism. He now wanted simply a cultural center for Judaism in the Holy Land. The post-war atmosphere was charged with too much hate towards the active pacifist and nonconformist who had experienced the hostility of the solid majority swept away by war hysteria. He longed for peace and spiritual uplift and in 1922 took his family to the land hallowed by the Prophets.

Activities on behalf of Hadassah and the soothing calm of Jerusalem helped to restore his morale. Soon he found the difficult yet congenial task that would stimulate his capacities, yearning for service. Sentiment for a Jewish university, voiced at the first Zionist Congress in Basle, was kept alive through years of turbulence or depression. In a critical moment of the war, July 1918, Dr. Chaim Weizmann in the presence of General Allenby and his staff laid the foundation stone of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. But Weizmann, concerned with more pressing matters, delegated the organizing work to Magnes. Starting merely with the name, Magnes brought into play his experience, his talents, his ability to win friends and influence people. He aimed to create a center for Judaica, a college for the Humanities and Science, a cultural union of Jews with the world. Of course Weizmann together with his group of eminent trustees exercised the overall supervision and gave powerful assistance. But the day-by-day direction fell to Magnes, and with experience his stature grew as planner and administrator. His contradictions and paradoxical attitudes seemed to dissolve into the gigantic task as building after building arose on the hill overlooking one of the world's most celebrated sites; the site where the Temple of Jerusalem stood. For 10 years Magnes administered as

Chancellor, then as President of the Hebrew University until his death in 1948.

From the very beginning Magnes foresaw the difficulties confronting a Jewish State permeated with and surrounded by Arab hostility. The obstacles appeared insurmountable. Apparently success could only be achieved with Moslem consent. He, therefore, came to the conclusion that only a *bi-national state,* with rights and powers vested equally in Arabs and Jews, could be viable. With that objective in mind he formed the Ihud, a union or association to propagate the idea that without partitioning Palestine, Jews and Arabs should form a bi-national commonwealth. To this plan he clung with dogged obstinacy until his last day.

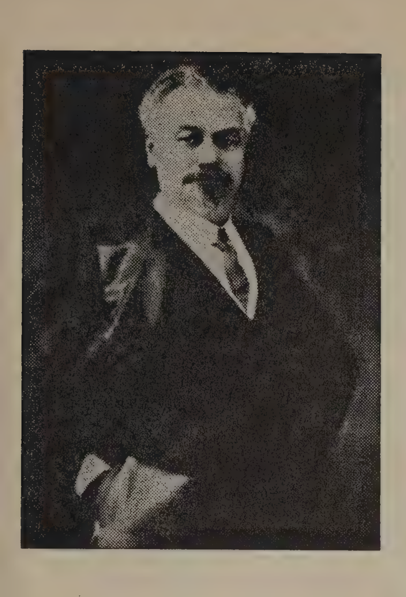
To the Holy Land, Magnes meant more than a mere administrator of the University. He became identified with the intensive upbuilding and rejuvenation of the wasted, neglected country. His position was unique. Zionists did not approve of his anti-nationalist principles, yet respected the man for his sincerity. Throughout the succession of High Commissioners, the influence of Magnes with the Mandatory Government never waned. He maintained social contacts with the English residents and went out of his way to cultivate friendships with the native Arabs. His home on the University heights, open to Jews, Moslems and Christians, was also the mecca of visitors and tourists from all corners of the globe. On many occasions his peaceful approach and gift for mediation smoothed out obstacles and prevented violence in the explosive atmosphere of intolerance, suspicion and enmity that mounted with the increase of Jewish immigration. During eruptions of terror he alone could approach the higher ruling echelons or the lower police level for release of suspected terrorists.

The fact that Jews considered the bi-national plan unworkable, or that Arabs violently opposed anything other than a purely Arab state, did not concern Magnes. His peculiar form of impractical idealism did not take realities into account. His pacifism might reflect the non-conformity that was indigenous to his character;

but it also raises a question of ultimate ratiocination when he declared after the Munich pact: "As for the Jews, this means their 'dismemberment' physically and spiritually—dismemberment a thousand times worse than that of Czechoslovakia and Spain. The Jews are being hunted like wild beasts, stepped on like worms, despised as pariahs, sullied, their soul held up to contempt. Whither shall they turn? Whither flee? . . . Yet if this grim picture be placed on the one hand, and a world war on the other, there can no longer be any question for me that the first grim picture is to be preferred. . . . And you ask me: And let Hitler not only dominate Central Europe and the Balkans but virtually establish a Gross-Deutschland astride the whole world? Even that, if it cannot be avoided by means other than by a world war." On September 29, 1939 when the Nazis virtually crushed Poland he wrote: "What is the way? I know of only one. . . . That under all circumstances we will not go to war, we will not shed blood."

In his naïveté Magnes probably identified himself with the Prophet who in the midst of the final siege walked the streets of Jerusalem crying surrender. But Nebuchadnezzar was not Hitler. Opening the gates meant saving the Temple, preserving the state and the nation. Non-resistance to Hitler spelled total annihilation. Obviously Magnes was no Jeremiah.

Bernard G. Richards, critic and literateur, closed his study of Judah L. Magnes in the Congress Weekly with this fitting appraisal: "Whatever one may think of Dr. Magnes' record in Palestine, it was part of the notable career of a striking personality, full of contrasts and contradictions, at once storm petrel and dove of peace; but imbued also with intense human qualities of zeal, ardor, enthusiasm, and in the last analysis, deepest devotion to the people of Israel in a manner and form of belief that was bound up with his complex personality. Thus ended a career that was colorful as it was contradictory, as daring as it was paradoxical, as quixotic and impetuous as it was destined to be beset by disillusionment—yet an arresting figure who nailed his name to history."



1909

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN

Impresario

THE ADULT Oscar Hammerstein never outgrew his adolescence. In Berlin the teenager resented the Prussian rigor current in German households. Finding protest against paternal discipline unavailing, 15-year-old Oscar took a step that reveals the intransigence at the basis of his complex makeup. A fearless self-assurance sparked his conduct throughout life. Late one night he sold his fiddle to a pawn-broker for about 140 marks and didn't bother to return home. After 89 days at sea in a steerage bunk, he landed in the midst of the American Civil War, hungry, friendless, dirty, virtually penniless, but with ambition and confidence unimpaired.

On the second day in New York, Oscar got a job with a cigar-maker at $2 a week. Finding the boy smart and hard working, Employer Levine raised his wages to $4 in the third week, then to $5 on the week following. It was in Oscar's nature to learn everything about the work at hand. Not only did he master the trade but he also kept inventing gadgets that produced cigars faster and better. He made a wooden mold that brought him $300. Working on the same principle, he perfected a mold that made a dozen

cigars of uniform size. This time he patented the invention and sold it for $1500 during the hard times that followed the 1873 panic. Altogether, he is said to have applied for more than 100 patents. Always pressed for cash, he often sold inventions for a pittance—$6000 for the pneumatic machine that saved labor in cigarmaking and earned millions for others. With a table and motor near his bedside, he continued to invent for the rest of his life.

Had Oscar Hammerstein devoted his copious talents to the accumulation of money he would probably have become one of America's wealthy tycoons. Capacities he displayed in many fields: building, invention, journalism, speculation, publicity, music and the theatre. But an artistic temperament bedeviled the constructive man of business and sooner or later wrecked his varied undertakings. Hammerstein might be classed among those adventurers who could make millions only to squander everything upon their beloved. His lady fair may have been the theatre, but his passion was the Opera, which like the Lorelei lured him on, time and time again, to ruin.

The artist in him attempted to write music. A friend induced the orchestra in a beer hall to play his composition. Delighted, the 22-year-old cigar maker felt encouraged to write more. This was unfortunate, for he had no real musical gifts. Yet he persisted. Subsequently, a string of his operettas was produced—but chiefly in his own theatres. None of his creative works could stand long on their own merits. This form of vanity often proved costly. In spite of lavish staging, the public stayed away.

The craving for opera had to be appeased. Without telling his wife, Oscar invested $500, all he had in the world, with a conductor who leased in 1871 the Stadt Theatre for German Opera. Loss of the family savings did not discourage him—nothing ever did. The thrill of doing publicity for, and helping to produce *Lucia, Freischutz, Martha* more than compensated him. The venture soon folded up and the future impresario went back to making cigars.

Married at 21, Oscar needed money to raise his increasing family.

Too capable, too restless, too ambitious to remain a cigar operative, he looked about and saw an opening for a trade journal. With superb self-confidence that never sagged, he rented a basement in Maiden Lane at $12 a month, bought white paper, induced a printer to go along and started *The United States Tobacco Journal.* Editor, publisher, advertisement solicitor and collector in 1874, he worked up the modest four-page sheet into a publication occupying three stories and operating under a manager and staff. Oscar's journalistic standards may not have been of the highest; yet they were no worse than the general practices that prevailed in the muck-raking era.

A new medium for quick money appeared. His brother-in-law thought that lots on 116th Street were a good buy, especially since he knew a builder who would be interested. A profit of $1600 in one week made Oscar a real estate speculator for life. He had a hunch that far away Harlem offered a good field for realty operation. He bought land and became expert in manipulating fees, juggling mortgages and resorting to the devious tactics of a shoe string operator. His creative instinct soon found an outlet in building. The new fascination caused Oscar to make his son Arthur a bricklayer and plasterer, who later could help in construction projects. Oscar experimented with 17 houses on 141st and 142nd Streets. Then he sensed the coming era of apartment building. In need of additional capital, he realized advance royalties on a new invention and undertook an ambitious project: a building with numerous apartments covering a large block. This he named "The Kaiser Wilhelm" to attract German tenants.

The next move appeared quixotic. Harlem was uninhabited except for occasional wooden shacks in a rocky wasteland. The construction of houses and apartments might indicate the pioneer's vision of a settlement that would eventually become part of the growing metropolis, already the largest in both Americas. But constructing a theatre in Harlem of the 1880s seemed sheer madness. Where would audiences come from? How could people get to 125th Street? Only the well-to-do could own a horse and buggy.

It was prior to the era of subways or automobiles. Evidently Hammerstein argued that a theatre would attract residents and increase the value of realty holdings in Harlem, his chosen bailiwick.

Building the Harlem Opera House stretched Oscar's resources to the utmost. *The Tobacco Journal,* now well established, netted him $25,000 a year. To get cash for the theatre, he sold the publication for $50,000 and $11,000 in mortgage payments. Unexpected difficulties arose to plague him. He learned that hard rock on the surface had to be excavated at a ruinous cost for the building to go up. He borrowed $10,000 from a brother-in-law and from everyone who would lend. Without experience he planned, supervised and built himself, paying the architect and engineer for obtaining the permit. The completed theatre lacked a box office, yet the acoustics were marvelous.

The problem of filling the seats was not the only difficulty. Foregoing opera for the time, Oscar decided to stage spoken drama; but only the best of talent and plays would suffice. Celebrated actors did not relish performing "in the sticks halfway to Canada." Their managers took full advantage to extract a percentage far higher than what was gotten from a downtown theatre. For an advance of $5000 (then five times its value of today) Daniel Frohman sent his stock company to open with a popular hit by Belasco and de Mille. People did come, and Oscar could offer such stars as Joseph Jefferson, E. H. Sothern, Edwin Booth and Mme. Modjeska. A far greater personal joy awaited when he presented a week of grand opera. The first season, an artistic success to be sure, left a large hole in Oscar's pocket.

Failure staring him in the face, Hammerstein had to sell for $65,000 his latest invention which had already paid $50,000 in royalties. One might think he had had enough of theatre building—at least in rural Harlem. He might even be excused if it were attempted in the theatrical area around Broadway. Seemingly contrary to logic or reason, the unpredictable Oscar began another structure on 125th Street five blocks from the Harlem Opera House. It was made possible through the unexpected stroke of fortune

that came when he persuaded the great diva, Lilli Lehmann, to sing in a Harlem week of Opera. New Yorkers came in droves to hear *Norma, Huguenots, Trovatore* and the box office raked in a barrel of money. Oscar then decided to reserve the Harlem Opera House for music and drama. He sold all real estate and in 1890 completed the Columbus Theatre, which became successful with vaudeville and popular amusements.

The next two decades in Hammerstein's life can be designated as hectic. He made and threw away, lost and regained several fortunes. He built seven more theatres, some huge, perhaps grandiose, in which everything from grand opera to circus freaks was presented. He showed acumen in discerning the public taste and would scour the ends of the earth for talent that would amuse, startle, entertain or excite. Many unknown troupers such as Charlie Chaplin, Harry Houdini, Marie Dressler, Bert Williams, Al Shean appeared in his Victoria long before they became headliners in the movies or in the Ziegfeld Follies. The first to bring an all Negro cast to Broadway, he displayed the famous prizefighters Jim Corbett, Jack Johnson, Jess Willard and experimented with roof gardens, serving food and drinks to audiences witnessing the performance. Hammerstein became a by-word for the best in vaudeville. With him vaudeville reached its apogee.

If the dichotomous personality of Oscar Hammerstein retarded financial progress it enhanced his popular appeal. New York liked the eccentric little scrapper wearing a high silk hat and Prince Albert coat, perpetually drawing at his cigar. A cluster of tall tales, some true, made him a legend. No telling what he might do next. Forty suits in court simultaneously did not faze the dynamic impresario, who could during a performance get up in a box and hiss his own star, thereby bringing on a row with partners that ended in their total ruin. In the first decade of this century no New Yorker was more talked about or written up, except "Teddy" Roosevelt.

Vincent Sheean's observation that Hammerstein simply could not bear success is borne out by the incident of the New York Life

Insurance Company, which loaned him $960,000 on the huge four-theatre unit, the Olympia. Its president sent notice by letter that taxes on the Olympia remained unpaid in violation of provisions in the mortgage. Oscar sent back an insulting reply which promptly brought on foreclosure. Soon enough the cocky little dictator was out on his ear, forbidden to enter the immense structure he had built, even to recover his last $400 hidden under a pillow. This time Broadway felt that Hammerstein, past fifty and wiped clean of more than a million dollars, would never stage a comeback. They did not know Oscar.

Walking with a friend on 42nd Street he pointed to the corner of 7th Avenue. Adolph Ochs of Tennessee had not yet moved his recently acquired paper on the opposite triangle and changed Longacre to Times Square. "You see those old shacks and stables? That, Louis, is the finest site in New York for a theatre. I am going to build one there and I have only ten cents in my pocket. . . . I am going down to Wall Street, and I am coming back in a couple of hours and buy that property and build a beautiful theatre."

He left for Albany to see the administrator of the estate over which the heirs were quarreling. Oscar had no money and his offer met cold resistance. But his persuasive powers proved irresistible. No one could understand how after a day in Albany he could bring back a 20 year lease on the property at $18,000 a year and the option to renew for another 20 years, without any down payment.

Back at the invention table, he completed a machine that split and utilized tobacco leaf stems, hitherto rejected as waste. Oscar expected to get $100,000 with royalties, but accepted $25,000 in immediate cash. Again his own architect, engineer and builder, the Victoria Theatre went up and after a year opened in March 1899. All his past experience went into the new operation, with management entrusted to his son Willie. This vaudeville house became the best paying theatre in New York. Excess money rolled into a reserve fund that was waiting for his next venture, the dream of a lifetime.

Finally at 60 Hammerstein could satisfy his longing to produce

opera. Against the strong objection of both sons, he diverted the profits of the Victoria to erect the Manhattan Opera House with more seating capacity than the Metropolitan. From Europe he brought such world renowned singers as Melba, Bonci, Calve, Renaud and proceeded to gather a young fresh chorus, together with a competent orchestra under Campanini as conductor. Starting from scratch he equipped the new building with scenery, costumes, sets and decorations befitting this regal form of entertainment. The paint was still wet as the workmen were leaving for the opening night before an overflow house with crowds struggling to gain admittance. A new chapter in the history of opera began with the astounding spectacle of two rival houses in one city producing the best of music drama in a land not particularly noted for operatic appreciation.

Involved was more than rivalry in staging excellent performances. The feud grew bitter until it overflowed to the press and reached the courts. A psychologist might be tempted to trace the animus that rankled in Hammerstein to religious prejudice. But the chief target of Oscar's malice was the Director of the Metropolitan, Heinrich Conried, who was also Jewish. Nor could the management be charged with anti-Semitism; for out of eight directors since the Met opened its doors in 1883 Maurice Grau, Leopold Damrosch, Heinrich Conried were Jews and so is Rudolf Bing. Actually the Metropolitan's policy was never tinged with anti-Jewish bias. Operas by such composers as Meyerbeer, Halevy, Goldmark, Milhaud, Offenbach, Dukas, Franchetti, Korngold, Grunenberg (Emperor Jones) were frequently performed. The score of Jewish conductors in the Metropolitan include Kurt Schindler, Georgio Polacco, Gustave Mahler, Pierre Monteux, Arthur Bodanzky, Louis Hasselmans, Bruno Walter, Erich Leinsdorf. The list of singers is long and distinguished. They include Alma Gluck, Frederick Schorr, Sophie Braslau, Alexander Kipnis, Margaret Matzenhauer of a former generation, and our contemporaries Regina Reznik, Richard Tucker, Roberta Peters, Jan Peerce, Robert Merrill, Leonard Warren and others.

Animosity started years earlier while Conried was a matinee idol in the German plays staged by Hammerstein. The latter also resented when Edmond Stanton showed him the door for proposing that the Metropolitan permit its singers to appear at the Harlem Opera House. Yet both incidents hardly explain Oscar's hostility towards the Met's rich and powerful directors, the Morgan-Astor-Vanderbilt triumvirate. This enmity made little sense if we consider that he was never a champion imbued with socialist principles for the common man. Possibly he was infected with the popular attitude, exploited by Theodore Roosevelt in the trust-busting era. Whatever the cause, warfare raged for four years and Oscar Hammerstein single handedly, backed neither by money nor influence, inflicted some telling blows upon the Opera House that enjoyed the sponsorship of Wall Street.

The older house had some spots that were vulnerable to Hammerstein's onslaughts. The preceding regime of Maurice Grau enjoyed a "golden age" when it boasted the greatest singers of the day: Nordica, Melba, Jean and Edward de Reszke, Sembrich, Plancon, Calve, etc. But the Conried management was actuated by the principle that opera must not only pay its own way but should even be profitable. This policy led to the repetition year after year of the standard "bread-and-butter" works which needed no change in scenery or costumes. Conried, or his coterie, assumed that the old favorites were satisfactory to the "diamond horse-shoe" patrons who attended for social reasons. The box office made money, yet in spite of Caruso, Farrar and Scotti the discriminating began to murmur that stagnation had set in.

Each house intrigued behind the scenes and attempted to lure each other's artists. But Hammerstein scored heaviest in giving excellent performances freed from the trammels and conventions that standardized and devitalized opera. With Mary Garden he demonstrated some revolutionary concepts that streamlined the opera with good acting, trim figures and team work in the cast. He brought over new works such as *Louise, Thais, Elektra, Le Jongleur, Pelleas et Melisande,* all ignored by his rival. The new techniques de-

molished the older notion that a hefty middle-aged diva could act the part of a 16-year-old Juliet if she merely possessed a magnificent voice. He demonstrated that the "singing actress" was more appealing than the massively proportioned prima donna.

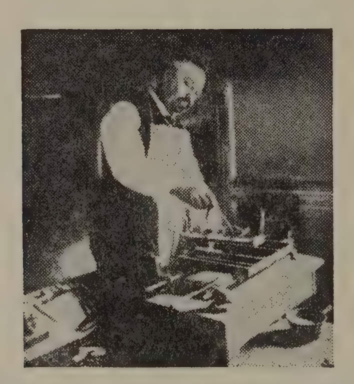
The first season closed with the Manhattan in the black, an astounding feat in view of the costs in fitting out an operatic organization and the high expense of operation. For the golden second season Hammerstein had an oversupply of first-rate singers: the fabulous Tetrazzini, the bewitching Mary Garden, the tenors Zenantello, Dalmores, John McCormack. The controversy stirred partisanship and New York never before or since was so opera-minded. The season closed with $250,000 profit to Hammerstein and $100,000 loss to the older house, which brought about the ailing Conried's resignation. Gatti-Casazza from Milan succeeded him and the Metropolitan began to imitate its upstart rival in producing novelties and bringing fresh blood and new life into its organization.

During the four-year operation, Hammerstein produced 49 different works in 463 performances. Artistically his productions ranked high, yet public interest waned. His losses began to mount and he seemed to be verging on bankruptcy when something occurred that could only happen to Hammerstein. The Met paid about $1,250,000 for his agreement not to stage opera in the U.S.A. for ten years. He had to turn over all scenery, costumes, contracts, options on singers and operas. He conveyed the Philadelphia Opera House heavily mortgaged, but retained his Manhattan theatre. This settlement has never been adequately explained. It was negotiated by the Metropolitan's chairman of the board, the capable banker, Otto H. Kahn, who was in a position to know all about Hammerstein's desperate circumstances. We can only infer that Oscar was regarded a dangerous opponent to be bought off at a high price.

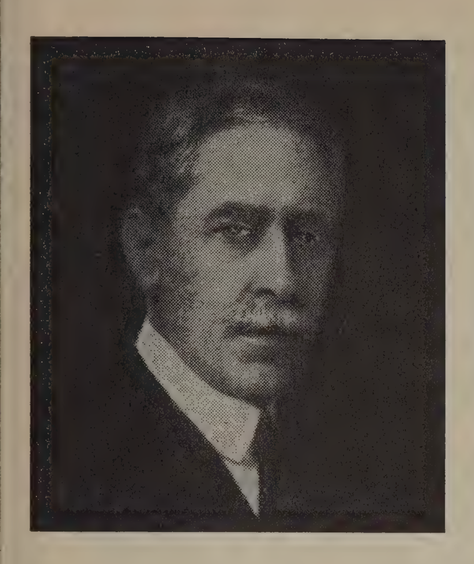
Anyone might expect that the 64-year-old maestro had enough of the strenuous life that opera producing demands. Yet again he was building a theatre, this time in London, more decorative than anything in England. Competition with Covent Garden which was supported by royalty and aristocracy, seemed to supply the proper

challenge. His stars were neither as brilliant nor as numerous as in the Manhattan firmament. The performances lacked their former eclat. Oscar's eccentricities did not go over so well as in New York. Still he was for a time the most talked of character in London. Cigar in mouth, he welcomed the British ruler "How are you, King? I am glad to meet you." His talent for antagonizing the powerful was fully utilized when he ordered Lady Cunard out of her box for talking and laughing during a performance. Her party, which included the King of Portugal, left with her.

By the end of the second season Oscar had lost his million dollars and the London Opera House closed. In New York the impressario began hatching new schemes for producing opera in cities not forbidden by the Metropolitan agreement. Perhaps the First World War prevented their fruition. In 1919 Oscar Hammerstein died. His obsession for producing opera was never fully appeased.



HAMMERSTEIN IN INVENTION SHOP.



1910

JOSEPH SCHAFFNER and SIDNEY HILLMAN

Management and Labor

THE EMINENT Christian professor of Harvard, Samuel Eliot Morison, in his *Oxford History of the United States* observes that "Human dignity owes much to the Hebrew organizers of the garment trades who wiped out class distinction in dress." Yet Jewish histories and encyclopedias are strangely reticent about the specific contribution of Jews to the American ready-to-wear industry. The labor leaders are panegyrized but the entrepreneurs who raised the manufacture of clothing to an art and a science are ignored. In books, articles and brochures Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky are vaunted, but Hart, Schaffner & Marx, the House of Kuppenheimer, Stein-Bloch Company, L. Greif and Brother, Michaels Stern & Company, Alfred Decker and Cohen are mentioned, if at all, in connection with strikes. Lee M. Friedman seems the only one to appreciate their contribution. This distinguished lawyer and historian writes in his *Pilgrims in a Strange Land:*

"The history of the Jew in 19th Century America is marked by his development of the clothing industry. Starting in the 1830's with factories that produced crude, cheaply-made clothing, he de-

veloped the industry so well that, by the end of the century, dresses for women and suits for men, of good quality and cut, were being produced in such quantities that their price was within reach of most people; in this he contributed something toward a practical democracy. No longer could master and servant, mistress and maid, rich and poor be set apart and distinguished at a glance by a difference in dress alone. It became a commonplace observation for foreign visitors that our shopgirls and workingmen were the best clothed in the world and that our mass production of clothing has a style and dignity of dress within the reach of all Americans."

Ready-to-wear has been labeled a Jewish industry. This is substantially correct as to ownership and management, but not completely. There have always been Gentile manufacturers of clothing and dresses. Up to the present generation the needle workers were largely Jewish; but today in the big cities the majority are Italians, Puerto Ricans and of other stocks. Yet the Jews have made the deepest impress on the industry. This may to a certain extent be due to the forces that operated against them in the past, lending color to Shakespeare's dictum: "Sweet are the uses of adversity which like the toad, ugly and venomous, wears yet a precious jewel in his head."

For many centuries Christian Europe limited Jewish life with many restrictions. Not the least were prohibitions against agriculture or the more dignified branches of business. The guilds controlled handicrafts and could prevent anyone from acquiring a skilled trade. The selling of old clothes was considered sufficiently degrading for Jews. Perforce, a virtue had to be made of necessity. Before the Industrial Revolution few factories existed, and the cost of tailor-made garments was out of reach for the majority. The guilds could not withhold needles and thread from the Ghetto. Its men and women developed a high skill in restoring or renovating and could render cast-off dress quite attractive. Thus with intelligent application even the traffic in old clothes could be made fairly profitable. Tailoring predominated in the Ghetto and the Russian Pale.

With immigration resuming after the Napoleonic wars, many Jews came from Central Europe and took up tailoring or peddling.

The peddler would often have orders to bring back suits to the farmhouses. His friend the tailor could then dispose of rejected garments; thus arose the practice for tailors to have cheaply made clothes always on hand. A good market for cheap goods existed for the slaves on Southern plantations, also in the sparsely settled West. The sewing machine, invented in 1846 by Elias Howe and improved later by Isaac Singer, facilitated the rapid manufacture of clothes. But the great impetus to the industry came with the Civil War when the government needed millions of uniforms for its huge armies.

The wearing of ready-made clothing also received a stimulus from the war. The soldier had become accustomed to receive his uniform in the quartermaster's commissary and wear it without a murmur. When mustered out he could not get into a civilian outfit fast enough. Since it would take time for the tailor to complete a custom-made suit, the discharged veteran went into a store and bought a factory garment which would do for the immediate present. It was certainly an improvement on the ill-fitting uniform which the tough sergeant flung at him together with an oath. When he needed more clothes he went back to the store. The price also mattered. He could get several outfits for the amount the tailor charged for one hand-made garment. The suit was at least his size, and after some minor alterations did not look bad either.

The demand for ready-to-wear apparel grew steadily. The storekeepers began to notice that customers were willing to pay more for better-made clothes. This led the manufacturers to experiment with improving their wares. The industry in its early stages was quite a primitive affair. In small factories designers would cut the cloth which workers carried home together with trimmings, thread, lining, padding and buttons in bushel baskets—hence the trade term *busheling* for altering or finishing. The tailor, often with his family, worked at home assisted by a sewing machine and brought back to the factory the partly made garment for others to complete. Production or distribution was quite limited. The budding industry was waiting for capital, brains, imagination and creative power to organize tailoring into big business.

At about this stage the Hart brothers entered the clothing business. Their parents had come from Germany to Chicago in 1858 with their brood of eight children. In 1871 Mrs. O'Leary's cow supposedly kicked over a lamp and brought on a tremendous conflagration. Instead of a catastrophe the fire proved the inciting force that caused Chicago to become the second city in all America. The following year Max and Harry Hart, both under 22, opened a small clothing store, which was quickly caught up in the prosperity wave that swept the Windy City, causing its rapid expansion. Their good merchandise caught the admiration of a country merchant and they offered to turn over some of their suits to him. The incident gave them an idea; why not a department for the wholesale trade? In need of backing, they induced Marcus Marx, a relative, to invest capital in their business and draw profits without leaving his general store in Hastings, Minn.

Wholesaling led to manufacturing and the Hart and Marx firm attracted the curiosity of Joseph Schaffner, a distant relative who had worked for 17 years in a dry goods business as bookkeeper and credit man. Having accumulated some money, he planned to go into the mortgage field in St. Paul, but decided first to investigate his cousins' offer. The Harts impressed him as "wizards" and the manufacture of clothing opened up vistas of endless possibilities. He decided to go in with them, and this step proved a great event for the future firm of Hart, Schaffner & Marx. Joseph Schaffner possessed that indefinable quality which for want of a better name is called originality. Under his direction the concern became the first in the clothing industry to try national advertising. The firm became a household name. The vaudeville stage had a stock joke, "Who is the greatest man in America?" The little struggling storekeeper Solomon Levy would answer, "Hart, Schaffner & Marx!"

From the rather wobbly clothing venture of the Hart brothers the firm grew, prospered and became a top leader in the industry. Hart, Schaffner & Marx was the first to adopt the all-wool policy and to guarantee color fastness against fading. It became a sound concern of excellent credit rating with a high reputation for the quality and

magnitude of its production. It could select its accounts from the cream of retailers and satisfy the fastidious wearers of well-made garments. It did not cease expanding until it became at one time perhaps the leading manufacturer of men's clothing in all the world. Yet Hart, Schaffner & Marx was but one of the many American Jewish firms which made the better clothes for the entire nation.

American ready-made clothes are unsurpassed. The man on the street can hardy appreciate the skill that goes into the production of a well-tailored garment. The skeleton frame is hidden by the finished exterior. Any male figure can be fitted out of the 253 different sizes, shapes, styles, models and posture produced by Hart, Schaffner & Marx. Reduced to their simplest expression, they represent the 14 basic types found in the masculine form.

The cloth is first tested in laboratories as to quality, durability and colorfast. It is then turned over to the cutter who uses a rotary disc or reciprocating knives to cut layers of cloth almost a foot thick. Each suit consists of 132 pieces of fabric, of which 63 go into the coat, 36 into the trousers and 33 for the vest. The entire process is a marvel of limited mass production coupled with personal artisanship. Each unit passes through the hands of about 140 operators. The higher craftsmen apply thought, care and skill in fashioning the finished product. The better manufactured garments have more style or "snap" than the suit made by the average merchant tailor, who has neither the training nor the originality of the highly paid designers, the artists of the industry charged with creating the styles that often require a large initial investment.

Yet from the worker's point of view the industry was indeed a shocking exploitation. Towards the close of the century it was still in the sweatshop stage, as named and described by the English novelist, Charles Kingsley, in "Alton Locke." Many a future plant began modestly in a room, where a cutter following paper patterns cut the cloth which was turned over to a contractor. He sought out the oversupply of cheap labor in the reservoir of newly arrived immigrants, especially the large numbers who fled the Russian pogroms. Desperately, to escape starvation, they would toil from darkness be-

fore daybreak to late hours in the night seven days a week. For sewing together the pieces of cloth many would receive as little as $3.00, hardly enough to hold body and soul together even in that depressed era of low living costs.

The labor standards of Hart, Schaffner & Marx were no better or worse than in the rest of the trade. It was an era of strife in all American industry, as revealed by the violent railroad strike centered at St. Louis, or the bomb-throwing on Chicago's Haymarket Square, or the pitched battle between steel workers and Pinkerton detectives in the Homestead area. The clothing manufacturers could not be expected to rise above the example set by such industrial tycoons as Andrew Carnegie, Harvester's McCormick, H. C. Frick, or George Pullman. In the age of "Robber Barons" labor was a low-priced commodity to be squeezed to the lowest point of resistance. Besides, those were times of panics and depressions that threatened the existence of the "Trusts" themselves.

It is to the everlasting credit of Hart, Schaffner & Marx that they became pioneers in bringing about more amicable relations between management and labor at a time when recognition of a union was regarded in Chicago as nothing less than treason. This occurred during the great 1910 strike of the garment workers. About 33,000 strikers were demanding a living wage, fit working places and conditions, the recognition of union labor. The sympathies of the public were finally aroused by Jane Addams of Hull House, the famous lawyer Clarence Darrow, and other public-spirited leaders. The tense situation worsened with the shooting of two picket marchers. After 16 weeks of suffering in mid-winter when the strikers could hardly hold out much longer, Hart, Schaffner & Marx offered their 8000 workers a settlement that became a milestone in labor relations.

Joseph Schaffner possessed a sense of fairness. Not without culture, he enjoyed books, especially Emerson's essays. Getting on in years, he devoted his attention to the company's finances and left production to his partners. He never went near the factory and, since the well-fed can seldom conceive of anyone going hungry, he assumed that his workers were getting on quite well. Carefully he selected

causes and institutions worthy of his philanthropy and projected an endowment for night classes in Northwestern University for workers unable to pay. Thus when the frantic strike broke out in his plant, Schaffner was shocked and disturbed. An agreement of long standing with his associates compelled him not to interfere with labor problems. Sensitive and well-intentioned, he winced on hearing himself assailed from the pulpits of pastors and rabbis alike as a heartless exploiter of downtrodden labor.

On visiting his shops, Schaffner was horrified but enlightened. Disregarding the understanding with his associates, he commissioned Earl Dean Howard of Northwestern University to make an independent investigation. The professor was disturbed to learn from Jane Addams that the strike was actually a revolt of embittered labor with a long list of justifiable grievances. Schaffner overruled his partners, disregarded the Chicago Wholesale Clothiers Association and plunged into negotiations with Union representatives. After protracted arguments and several rejections from labor, an agreement was finally presented. Joseph Schaffner consented to better sanitary conditions, regular lunch hours, no discrimination against Union workers, an effort to divide the work equally in slack seasons, a 54-hour week, time-and-a-half for overtime and a general minimum wage. But the most important and far-reaching concession was an Arbitration Committee to adjust grievances, binding upon the company and the Union, this Board of Arbitration to consist of three members, one appointed by each party and the third, a neutral chairman, selected by both members.

At the strikers' meeting, a 23-year-old cutter at Hart, Schaffner & Marx argued with such clear and forceful logic that the agreement was ratified. Sidney Hillman, destined to play an important role in national affairs, won his spurs in the great Chicago strike. He admitted the shortcomings of the agreement but saw in the concessions the seeds of liberation for the clothing worker, a sort of Magna Carta from which great benefits would accrue to the Union. Hitherto, neither the individual worker nor his group had a tribunal before whom to voice a complaint. With good will, fairness and restraint

any just difference could now be adjusted. Evidently Hillman banked on the character and idealistic impulses of Joseph Schaffner to carry out the covenant with the strikers justly and honorably.

The settlement agreement proved a fingerpost pointing towards better relations between employer and employee. Not that all friction disappeared instantly. It took time for the Arbitration Committee, swamped with complaints, to dispose of all grievances. A worker, chafed when the decision went against him, would charge discrimination in favor of the company. Managers, directors and foremen had difficulty in concealing hostilities or to unlearn old disciplinary methods. Labor also had to learn to stand by its pledges and respect problems of management. Obviously the good will of Joseph Schaffner and the wisdom of Sidney Hillman operated in favor of reasonable interpretations and just solutions.

The test came two years later with the renewal of the agreement. The workers, emboldened by victory, demanded a closed shop for the employment of Union members exclusively. But were it to agree the company, while no longer objecting to unions, would be faced with a labor shortage in busy seasons. Not all workers were as yet unionized, far from it. The impasse was finally overcome by adopting the "preferential union shop," devised by Louis D. Brandeis during a New York strike, and now suggested by Sidney Hillman to the impartial Chairman of the Arbitration Board. This plan called for giving preference to union labor while permitting the hiring of other workers. From here on better relations ensued until permanent cooperation developed, satisfactory to management and labor.

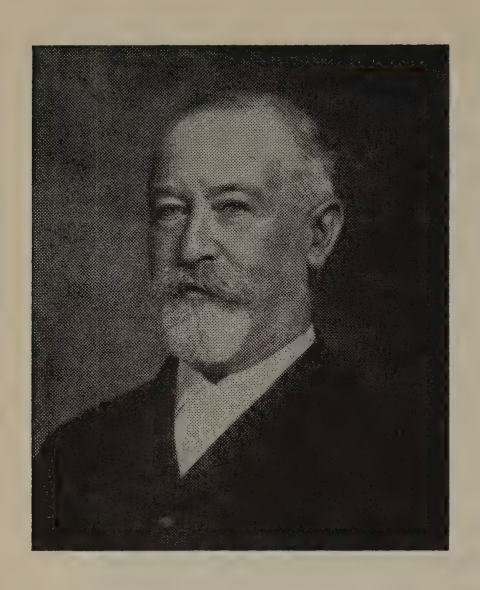
This outstanding peace treaty became a landmark in labor history. It conferred such prestige upon Sidney Hillman that he was called to New York to exercise his proven abilities on a far greater stage. He created the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a model union which became a trail blazer in promoting a constructive program of cooperation with employers. The cornerstone of its policies, originating in Chicago, provided for permanent arbitration boards under full-time chairmen to adjust differences with employers

as to wage scales, collective bargaining, working conditions, hours of work. A most significant development resulted in the recognition of labor's responsibility towards management in sharing the burdens of promoting efficiency and stability. Hillman's experiences with Hart, Schaffner & Marx were of utmost importance in gradually elevating labor to a component part of industry instead of remaining a commodity to be bought and discarded.

But Hart, Schaffner & Marx also benefited. It is doubtful whether the benevolent Joseph Schaffner realized his contribution in preparing a sound structure that would withstand many a peril brought on by titanic wars, depressions, rising costs or a changing economy. At no time did a strike ever again disorganize the plant, while competitors were often struggling with labor difficulties. The firm gained fame and prestige for its enlightened relations with labor. During the blackest period of the 1932 depression the company was considering liquidating the business. Sidney Hillman would not hear of it. Instead, the remaining 4000 Amalgamated workers agreed to a substantial cut, to be paid when the business could afford it. Other clothing firms followed the lead of Hart, Schaffner & Marx by entering into similar arrangements with the Amalgamated unions. The loathsome sweatshop evolved into a dignified industry that commands respect for the vast scale of its intricate operations.



SIDNEY HILLMAN.



1911

JACOB H. SCHIFF

Financier and Philanthropist

In the spring of 1906 Jacob H. Schiff was invited to Japan and presented with the Order of the Rising Sun. The Mikado extended his hand in welcome and thanked him for the important assistance rendered the nation at a most critical time. The private audience was followed by a luncheon in the Palace with the Mikado as host, a distinction never yet accorded to any private citizen not of royal blood in a land gradually emerging out of feudalism.

In a memorandum Baron and Viscount Takahashi writes of difficulties encountered in obtaining a loan for Japan when the country was in dire need of money to carry on the war with Russia. The New York bankers were skeptical of Japanese chances in the unequal struggle which appeared a David-and-Goliath combat. At a dinner Takahashi met Jacob Schiff, who seemed strangely interested in the affairs of Japan. The next day a banker intimated to the Baron that Schiff would be inclined to underwrite half of the $50,000,000 loan under negotiation. Schiff's decision encouraged the English and American financiers and proved a stimulus to the Japanese before their brilliant victory on the Yalu. This initial loan was followed by

others until they aggregated $400,000,000, half of which Schiff's firm subscribed. The flow of gold not only raised the morale of Japan but discouraged Russia; it also brought on the peace negotiations at Portsmouth under the good offices of President Theodore Roosevelt.

The term *international banker* has perhaps been rendered an abusive epithet by demagogues. Pacifists may regard financiers to governments on a par with manufacturers of armaments who thrive on war. But we have seen that states, when they attack, usually carry out the will of the people or of their dictators. Bankers assisting in any war effort generally act according to the wishes of their own governments; and they, the home governments, have the power to halt war financing with a word. Thus when Jacob Schiff made loans to Japan he was encouraged by Washington to help bring about the defeat of Russia.

Yet it was hazardous for Schiff to induce the financial powers to virtually enter the war. His knowledge of Japanese resources or prowess was insufficient for such a decision. But intuitively he felt that Russia's rotten and corrupt autocracy could hardly withstand the impact of a war with the efficient, loyal, self-sacrificing Nipponese. In the midst of his government's oppressions the Czar would hardly enthuse the downtrodden, impoverished masses to heroic effort. Jewish intuition rather than financial acumen enabled Schiff to scent the direction of history. That his ancestry was more scholarly or rabbinical than mercantile might here furnish an explanation.

In 1847 Jacob Henry Schiff was born in Frankfurt of a strain that reaches back to the 14th century. Some of his forebears attained the distinction that learning conferred in the closed Jewish world. In the 17th century Maharam Schiff lived but 36 years, yet left a commentary on the Talmud that is still consulted by the learned. David Tevele Schiff served as Rabbi of the great Synagogue in London from 1765 until his death in 1792. Jacob Henry studied in the neo-Orthodox school of Samson Raphael Hirsch, who labored to deepen the religiosity of modern Jewry. Schiff never forgot the lessons of his student days nor quite lost the spirit generated in that atmosphere. Nevertheless he chose a business career, and after acquiring

the rudiments of banking in Frankfurt he departed, 18 years old, for America.

In New York, Jacob went to work as bank clerk in a brokerage business; this was the best way of adjusting to a new land and learning its ways. At 20 he formed a brokerage firm under the name of Budge, Schiff and Co. Six years later he dissolved the partnership and sailed for Europe to console his mother who became a widow. He offered to remain in Frankfurt, but his mother sensed his deep attachment to America and urged his return. In 1875 he joined Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and began his amazing career as one of the top creative financiers who assisted the rapid development of industrial America.

When Jacob Schiff agreed to help finance Japan, it was a momentous step because of his firm position in the world of finance—only a close second to J. P. Morgan, the all powerful factor in American business. The success of Schiff was all the more surprising since he came as an immigrant without money or connections. He was 27 when invited into the firm of Abraham Kuhn and Solomon Loeb, retired merchants from Cincinnati who came to live leisurely in New York and went into commercial banking in 1867 only to escape boredom. They drifted into investments and built up a solid business marketing railroad bonds and government securities. Schiff entered the firm in 1875 and in the same year married the daughter of the junior partner. By 1885 the 38-year-old financier, now head of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., was deeply involved in transactions of the first magnitude and was a power on Wall Street closely associated with the foremost industrialists, bankers and railroad magnates in the Western Hemisphere.

The expert on financial matters, B. C. Forbes, once declared: "Kuhn, Loeb & Co. have issued more good investments and fewer bad ones than any other banking concern in America." Such a record results hardly from guesswork, from following hunches or listening to tipsters. When questioned about the business prospects indicated in the stock market, Schiff replied that instead of watching the stock fluctuations he studied the crop reports. Schiff came at the close of the Civil War and for the next half-century witnessed the most as-

tonishing economic upsurge in world history. He grasped the unique importance of the newly built railroads in uniting a vast continent and bringing the Pacific close to the Atlantic.

Possessing rare judgment as to character and native capacity, he recognized the latent qualities in such railroad builders as James J. Hill and E. H. Harriman long before their names became a household word with the general public. He was closely associated with Hill in building the Great Northern Railway, which united the vast uninhabited region of the Northwest. He floated huge loans for the Pennsylvania Railroad and assisted in realizing the dream of A. J. Cassatt to build the Hudson Tunnel under the Hudson River and the Pennsylvania Station so that trains could penetrate the heart of New York City. His firm was engaged in financial operations that aided such railroads as the Baltimore and Ohio, the Illinois Central, the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Chicago and Northwestern. His outstanding project was the rehabilitation of the Union Pacific Railroad which, towards the close of the century, had become "battered, bankrupt and decrepit." Together with Harriman, the father of New York's Governor of a later day, his reorganization of the Union Pacific in 1897 was considered a constructive achievement of the first rank. The powerful Harriman-Schiff combine became legendary as the most successful and productive in Amercian business.

To Jacob Schiff, financial operations meant more than commissions for floating bond issues. He felt an equal responsibility for the investors' money as towards the companies he assisted. The investment had to be sound, yet it was also to the public interest that the nation's large and often untried enterprises operate without hitch or interruption. It took courage and vision to recommend large scale investments during times of depression or stagnation. For such responsibility, knowledge of general conditions or special problems prevailing in the various industries was essential. The comparatively few errors in the judgment of Jacob Schiff were proof of an amazing grasp of factual data whether practical, economic, industrial, financial, agricultural or international. His operations were not confined to railroads. He financed a number of varied undertakings unrelated in

character, such as the Western Union or Armour and Company, American Telephone and Telegraph or Anaconda Copper, Westinghouse Electric and U. S. Rubber. He did more than market their securities. He investigated thoroughly the prospects, the difficulties, the problems of these corporations and often helped with sound advice and valuable suggestions. The ultimate success of these great enterprises is the best testimony to his judgment and constructive cooperation.

The business activities of Jacob Schiff were more than sufficient for any normal individual. They consumed a large portion of his time but not all of his interests. The possession of money, which he regarded as a public trust, inevitably led him into the field of philanthropy. Such a course was to be expected from anyone who attained wealth and renown, yet remained sensitive to poverty and suffering. Many a charity benefited from his munificence, which disregarded creed or race. His war contributions to the Red Cross, Knights of Columbus, the Y.M.C.A. and Salvation Army were generous. Interest in education directed his gifts, endowments or scholarships to Columbia University, Barnard College, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, and his native city Frankfurt. He presented the Semitic Museum and many of its collections to Harvard. But his many benefactions can no more be listed here than all his business ventures.

Of his numerous charities the Montefiore Home and Hospital stood highest in his affections. This institution for chronic invalids, named after the great humanitarian Moses Montefiore when he reached the century mark, began in 1884 as a small home for incurables and expanded into a great hospital on 125 lots, equipped with research laboratories and a distinguished medical staff. Its early growth was largely due to the efforts of Schiff, who contributed personally and obtained gifts from others. He knew all the permanent inmates personally and seldom missed a Sunday visit or a board meeting. He took pride in its kosher kitchen and its dignified synagogue. Elected its president in 1885, he held the office to his last day in 1920.

The number and variety of his philanthropic interests are surpris-

ing. New ideas in social service could also claim his attention. Thus when Lillian Wald unfolded her idea of a settlement house with trained nurses visiting the sick among the poor, Schiff became enthusiastic in his support and joined this idealistic woman in forming the Henry Street Settlement. He did not consider his obligations discharged simply with money offerings. He made frequent pilgrimages to Henry Street and often ate at the Settlement House, not in a patronizing spirit but as one inspired by the atmosphere of this place which labored for the underprivileged.

Jacob Schiff was more than a philanthropist. Devout, interested in Jewish education, concerned with the survival of Judaism and deeply affected by persecutions meted out to his co-religionists in lands devastated by ignorance, hatred and fanaticism, he could not escape the role of Jewish tradition that demanded leadership of qualified individuals who attained the wealth and prestige to command authority. And no Jewish American ever rose to a higher place in the respect or affections of the masses and the classes, notwithstanding factional disputes or differences as to ideology, Zionism or sectarian Judaism.

The religious fervor generated through the centuries in the pietistic atmosphere of Frankfurt remained embedded in Schiff's soul. A member of Temple Emanuel, he assisted the Reform movement, which his practical mind recognized as serving a large influential section of American Israel. Never quite at home in the radical Reform of his day, he prayed daily and went regularly to the Sabbath service. When in Japan, his wife secured matzos and a Seder was celebrated in the Tokyo hotel. Thus when invited to help reorganize the Conservative Jewish Theological Seminary, he raised $500,000 and with his own funds built the structure on 123rd Street for the college to function in a dignified home. Actually he felt closer to the Seminary than to the Hebrew Union College, which he assisted with equal generosity. Jewish learning he served by presenting important collections to the Seminary, to the New York Public Library on Fifth Avenue and to the Jewish Division of the Congressional Library in Washington.

Circumstances perhaps shaped the role of Schiff as a leader. When

the Kishineff massacre shocked the world in 1903, he raised almost single-handedly $1,500,000 to relieve distress. Events in Russia and their repercussions on other lands suggested to Schiff the need of a more permanent body than a hurriedly assembled group to handle situations that might arise anywhere. In fact, he stated specifically that he never again would assume personal responsibility in raising large funds. There ought to be some organization to meet such emergencies. Thus the American Jewish Committee was formed in 1906 largely at his suggestion. Reluctantly he joined the Executive Committee, for he was already overworked. Yet he proved a most valuable member in his courageous support of the Committee's efforts.

The Russian anti-Semitic drive continued to plague Schiff and even to color his actions. Unlike other bankers, he refused to partake of any loan, no matter how profitable, if the Czars benefited. But on the passport question he could find no rest until he ended a condition that seemed intolerable. Since 1832 the U. S. A. had a treaty with Russia that granted reciprocal rights to travelers for commercial purposes. For 40 years Russian officials refused to honor the passports of Protestant missionaries, Catholic priests or Jewish visitors. With the increase of American Jews, this restriction assumed importance. Presidents Cleveland and Harrison sent notes of protest without avail. Even the vigorous efforts of Theodore Roosevelt could not change the status quo.

During the Taft administration, Schiff felt the time for action had come. The American Jewish Committee began to agitate for abrogation of the treaty. William H. Taft invited a Jewish group to the White House and outlined his objections, to wit, that (1) Russian policy was too long-established to alter; (2) American business would lose by disrupting diplomatic relations; (3) Jews in Russia would suffer pogroms because of such drastic action. Angered by these tricky evasions, Schiff declared: "This question will not be downed, Mr. President; we had hoped you would see that justice be done us, but you decided otherwise; we shall go to the American people."

In the autumn of 1911 resolutions to abrogate the treaty with Russia were introduced in both Houses of Congress. Public sentiment favored abrogation. Before a House Committee, Mayer Sulzberger made the opening address, followed by Louis Marshall whose legal arguments lasted 3 hours. Out of respect, the chairman asked if Mr. Schiff wished to say anything. "Gentlemen," said Schiff, "you have heard the arguments, I feel sure you will pass the resolution. My earnest plea is that you make it unanimous." It passed unanimously. In the House of Representatives the vote stood 300 to 1. Before the resolution reached the Senate the President, despite pressures of Big Business, announced the termination of the 1832 Treaty.

This short sketch can hardly do justice to the many activities and achievements of a man whose biography, *Jacob H. Schiff, His Life and Letters,* by Cyrus Adler, fills 2 volumes containing 800 pages. Only a passing reference can indicate his part in the English translation of the Hebrew Bible or in the publication of the monumental Jewish Encyclopedia by Funk and Wagnalls. Both projects perhaps might not have been completed without his financial aid. American Jewish historiography is also indebted to Schiff for the fund he provided to publish important writings. His benefactions to the Jewish and general public constitute an imposing chronicle.

But a blind spot mars an otherwise faultless record. With vehemence Jacob Schiff opposed the idea of a Jewish State. His adherence in the early days could have rendered enormous aid to the struggling Zionist ideal and might have saved myriads who perished in Hitler's crematoria. His devout faith was repelled by the secular attitude of the early Zionists, who discarded Messianic prophecies for direct action. The opposing ideology of Reform theorists might also have influenced his thinking. Yet disagreement with Zionism did not prevent practical assistance to the colonists in Palestine. In 1911 he donated the then considerable sum of $100,000 to the Technical School at Haifa. But the Balfour Declaration in 1917 could not fail to impress the realist in Schiff. The massacres in the Ukraine after the war and the growing hostility in Poland opened his mind to the dire need

of a Jewish commonwealth. After his 70th year he was moving towards Zionism and would no doubt have taken a leading part in building the Jewish Homeland through the Keren Hayesod. But on September 25th, 1920 the philanthropic and humanitarian life of Jacob Henry Schiff ended.



1912

ADOLPH ZUKOR

Motion Picture Magnate

In 1889 Thomas Edison completed a 50-foot strip of tiny pictures all seemingly alike. Thinking little of his "moving picture" the great inventor did not even bother to patent the device in Europe, an omission he had cause to regret later. Instead his company rented out cabinets with peep-holes and turning handles to the "Penny Arcades." There the public sought amusement, shooting into a bull's eye, testing muscles by lifting weights, punching at bags, listening to a revolving wax cylinder emitting some nasal singing or the tinny sounds of an orchestra. By dropping a penny into the slot of the newly invented kinetoscope and turning a handle for less than a minute, the peeper could make out more or less clearly a boxing match, a boy kissing a girl, a shooting scrape in a barroom, or a policeman chasing a tramp.

At that stage some Jewish entrepreneurs chanced to enter this humble entertainment field. What was perhaps the most sensational transformation in the history of business followed. In scarcely more than a decade the Nickelodeon evolved into the colossal movie industry,

world-wide in scope. The story of a pioneer in developing this popular amusement may shed light upon the phenomenon.

Adolph Zukor was two years old in 1875 when his father died. Six years later his mother followed and at 12 the orphan was apprenticed to a storekeeper in the little Hungarian town where Adolph lived. The boy attended school two nights a week and soon read about the marvelous land across the ocean in such books as were available. He listened hungrily to letters from emigrants in America and gave up his job. At 15 he sailed from Bremen and landed in New York with $40 sewed in his vest. The passage fare came from the money left by his parents.

After a few days Adolph went to work for an upholsterer at $2 a week. A friend soon got him a job in a fur shop for double the wages, good money for a boy whose board and lodging aggregated $2.50 a week. He went to night school, enjoyed life, mastered the fur trade and decided to go into business for himself. Curious about the World's Fair, he went to Chicago. The New York fur shop had specialized in neckpieces that retained the head of the animal. It was new in Chicago and Adolph had no difficulty in getting orders, especially after inventing the spring that opened and snapped the mouth clasping the fur collar. Before reaching 21, Adolph saved $8000, revisited his home town and saw Europe. At 24 he married the niece of his partner, Morris Kohn, who had lived in North Dakota and learned about furs from the Sioux Indians. Business was good. Yet Kohn and Co. moved to New York which offered greater opportunities. Zukor lived opposite Marcus Loew, also a furrier, who wore a high hat and fur-lined coat to impress the trade while drumming on the road. They became warm friends.

A relative had an interest in a Penny Arcade on 125th Street. Out of curiosity Adolph Zukor and Morris Kohn went to see it. They listened to the phonograph, the main attraction, and turned the handles that propelled the crude movies. Zukor went further. He watched the customers and studied the cash receipts and cost of operation. Evidently he grasped the potentialities of an entertainment that could pay in faraway Harlem. What would a glamorous arcade with

the most expensive phonographs and kinetoscopes made by Edison do on busy 14th Street, the theatrical center, Times Square of 1902?

A store on the corner of Broadway and 14th Street was available. A palatial arcade on this prize location would require about $75,000, a huge sum for a penny business at the turn of the century. After conferences with prospective partners Zukor and Kohn alone decided to take the chance, without however giving up the lucrative fur business two blocks away. Their credit was stretched to the limit for the brightly decorated emporium running from 14th to 13th Street that contained about 60 phonographs and 40 peep-shows, besides shooting galleries, athletic devices and candy slot machines in the basement. The enterprise succeeded immediately with an intake of $500 to $700 a day.

A notion prevails that the early movie producers were pushcart peddlers, who started on a shoe string and had nothing to lose. The entry of Adolph Zukor into amusements negates such a myth, spread perhaps by envy. Already a successful furrier, he staked his business future on the motion pictures which became an obsession. In the following year, he built the Crystal Hall on the floor above, reached by a glass stairway that enclosed water cascading and was flooded with changing color lights. On a sheet stretched upon the wall, the customer could for five cents see three flickering short reels in the 15-minute show of the budding cinema art.

The enthusiasm of Adolph Zukor proved contagious. His friend and fellow furrier, Marcus Loew, begged for a share in the company that opened new arcades in Philadelphia, Newark and Boston. Yet a string of Nickelodeons, though profitable, did not satisfy Zukor. Strangely fascinated by the "flickers," he could sit for hours in the darkened stores watching their effect upon people. Feeling certain that pictures could be shown exclusively, he intended to experiment by renting a vacant store on East 14th Street. At this time the noted theatrical producer, William A. Brady, wanted the store to exhibit "Hale's Tours of Scenes of the World," which had been a success at the St. Louis Exposition. Brady teamed up with Zukor in operating the venture jointly.

The store was fitted up as a train with the ticket collector as conductor. The whistle blew, the bell clanged, and the audience experienced the illusion of traveling on a moving train while viewing on the screen faraway scenes of mountains, valleys, towns, rivers, buildings and trees. At first Hale's Tours was a great success; then interest flagged, and the partners began to lose money. Brady favored closing the play that had run its course. But Zukor sensed the new phase of picture entertainment. The public was simply tired of the same show. Changes in the program had to be offered.

The early movie industry is indebted to Edwin S. Porter, who in 1903 produced *The Great Train Robbery* for the Edison Company. The first of the blood-and-thunder reels with its violence, suspense, flashbacks and climatic end, lasts hardly ten minutes yet is a landmark in film history. Zukor introduced the exciting robbery at the point when the train in Hale's Tours reaches Mount Blanc and stops. Again the interest of the public revived, but soon subsided. Zukor reached two important conclusions without which motion pictures would hardly have developed into a steady and stable business. He became convinced that a movie theatre to survive had to show new pictures constantly. But his most important intuition pointed to long features unfolding interesting stories well acted.

Meanwhile Nickelodeons mushroomed throughout the land. Any head of a family with several hundred dollars could venture into the new amusement by purchasing a projector from The Edison Company, leasing a vacant store, stretching several sheets sewed together on the wall, and hiring from the undertaker chairs that stood idle between funerals. His daughter sitting in a booth would sell tickets, his wife would collect them at the door, his son might operate the machine that flashed the film rented from the producer. Several short reels entertained the audience almost an hour for five cents. The masses responded to the cheap entertainment which the more comfortable or cultured regarded a fad; like bicycling, it would soon give way to another craze. Few ever dreamed that this a humble diversion might become the great movie enterprise which would all but eliminate the established theatre.

Among the first to sense the possibilities of motion pictures, Adolph Zukor soon discarded the Penny Arcades, sold his fur business and confined himself to Nickelodeons, which he steadily accumulated. On the road to affluence, a lesser man might be satisfied to let well enough alone. The picture industry soon became stratified. Lead by The Edison Company, makers and distributors organized themselves into the Motion Picture Patents Company and through control of patents exercised the tyranny of a monopoly. The Trust was satisfied with things as they were and scoffed at anyone advocating longer or more serious pictures.

Backing his conviction against the almost universal opinion of the trade, Zukor decided to test his theory that the public was in a mood for longer, more intelligent and better acted pictures. For a stiff price he obtained the tinted, three reel *Passion Play* filmed in Europe. Newark he considered better suited for the experiment, which was not without hazards. The church might oppose the use of a sacred theme or condemn as a sacrilege an organ in the theatre. The first reel started at 11 A.M. and women shopping early were the first spectators. Anxiously he watched the reaction. Some women came out moved to tears. A priest witnessed the show; a word from him would ban the performance. When no protest appeared in the press, Zukor knew he scored a victory.

Chancing to hear that Sarah Bernhardt was breaking all precedents for a famous actress by appearing in a French film, he contacted the American agent. Zukor bought the American rights to *Queen Elizabeth* for $35,000, a fortune in the beginnings of the crude industry, and forwarded a part to the French producer who needed funds to complete the film. For the first time the upper crust of New York came to see a motion picture. Perhaps some thought that the divine Sarah would appear in person. *Queen Elizabeth,* exhibited all over the country, netted $60,000. A more important consequence resulted when Adolph Zukor decided to become the first exhibitor to produce pictures.

The slogan *Famous Players in Famous Plays* appealed to Zukor and it became the motto for Famous Players Film Company, which

he organized. He took in Daniel Frohman, an important name in the theatre, who could help in procuring well known actors, not only for their experience but also for prestige. This was not easy. Artists who had made any mark on the stage shied away from pictures as from the plague. They liked the emolument but were afraid of losing caste. After much urging, James K. Hackett and his wife condescended to act in *The Prisoner of Zenda,* a romantic and popular play in which they had starred on Broadway. The Hacketts were touring the country in this drama for Daniel Frohman. It was hard to refuse their own manager. But the more important inducement was the salary, far in excess of any sum paid in the theatre.

To create a new art, a director with originality would be essential. The first choice fell on D. W. Griffith, the Kentuckian who later attained world fame in producing *The Birth of a Nation.* Griffith refused to leave Biograph, even for the fantastic salary of $50,000 a year which Zukor boldly offered. Zukor had to be content with Edwin S. Porter, the capable director, who blazed the trail in the early days with *The Great Train Robbery.* Actors and director had to work out a new technique in a new medium. *The Prisoner of Zenda* proved a glowing success. It was followed by *The Count of Monte Cristo,* inimitably acted by James O'Neill, father of Eugene who is perhaps the greatest dramatist America has yet produced. Mrs. Fiske starred in the title role of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles,* a favorite Broadway play.

Success came with astonishing rapidity. The film stories depicting the meteoric rise of their heroes were no more fantastic than Zukor's own career. The stuffed shirts of the Trust looked with amazement at the recent exhibitor who stood hat in hand in their anteroom pleading humbly to be heard. The Famous Players Film Company was organized in 1912, and by 1915 Adolph Zukor occupied the position of leading producer. He was turning out the best features and making more money than all other producing companies. He seemed to possess a sixth sense that anticipated the tastes of audiences, the impact of stars, the dramatic power of films. He displayed rare acumen in selecting writers, directors and cameramen who could commingle the

ingredients that went into successful production. Merging with Jesse L. Lasky's company, Famous Players-Lasky Corporation became for a time the world's largest and best producing movie unit.

As life itself, each phase of industry has its problems and dangers. Becoming a leading producer did not mean the end of worries. Competitors were straining to reach the top, and Zukor, impelled by a Napoleonic drive, did not relish being displaced by a rival kingdom. The industry like Gaul was divided into three parts: production of films, their distribution, their exhibition in theatres. Distribution had become largely the business of Paramount Pictures Corporation, which could throttle Zukor's Famous Players if for any reason their films were withheld from exhibitors. Zukor attempted to amalgamate with Paramount, or at least to have an influential voice in its board of directors. President Hodkinson opposed Zukor on the grounds that production and distribution should not be the functions of any single organization. Zukor displayed remarkable strategy in winning over a majority of the board and displacing W. W. Hodkinson as president. Control of Paramount and Famous Players made Zukor the leading factor in the motion picture industry.

Meanwhile another problem was looming. In the golden age of silent pictures, public idolatry for film stars grew to unbelievable dimensions. A fixed opinion set in that wide popularity of a picture was due entirely to its leading performers. It did not take long for stars to demand ever-increasing portions of the box receipts. Movie star salaries became fantastic, and Zukor had to pass increased costs to the theatres. Admissions were low, and exhibitors resented the rising rentals. But Zukor maintained his ground, since he had half of the stars who swayed the public.

Excessive star worship may be incidental in the rise of a new art form struggling to attain its proper place. It existed in the theatre from which Zukor drew his first actors to launch feature pictures. It soon became apparent that middle-aged performers could not maintain their film glamor as before footlights. The merciless camera revealed ravages of time, defects of face or form. Always alert to the public reaction, Zukor soon found that people preferred to select

their own stars. Youth, beauty, charm and talent appealed more than names familiar to a limited number of theatre goers. While retaining such talented personalities of the stage as John Barrymore, Ina Claire, Dustin and William Farnum, Lillie Langtry, Hazel Dawn, the studios introduced the unknown and untried who soon became household names. Famous Players developed Marguerite Clark, Rudolph Valentino, Pauline Frederick, Douglas Fairbanks, Gloria Swanson, William S. Hart, Clara Bow, Thomas Meighan and a host of others. But the outstanding find was a young girl with blue eyes and golden hair, whose unaffected sweetness and natural charm enchanted the American public. Her name was Mary Pickford.

Zukor had contributed to the spread of the star cult. Now it seemed ironic for Mary Pickford to demand a salary and share of profits that might aggregate $2,000,000 a year. It seemed preposterous, and he refused to be gouged. Yet one morning he woke up to find that the First National Exhibits Circuit had taken "Little Mary" from him. This stroke climaxed a chain of events that started when several thousand exhibitors, together with owners of theatre chains, organized to fight the "Adolph Zukor Trust," which they feared would exact exorbitant rentals for its films. The Famous Players-Lasky Paramount combination controlled at least half of the prominent stars whose pictures were indispensable to exhibitors. The First National went further than protesting; it determined to manufacture pictures and entice Zukor's stars, even if they demanded double or triple the sums he paid. The new organization might impose a boycott and threaten his film empire.

The acute Zukor then realized that control through stars was a two-edged sword. Hence the policy had to be revised. D. W. Griffith had demonstrated in *The Birth of a Nation* that the story, the drama, the sweep of a picture attracted wide public interest without dependence on highly publicized glamor artists. Zukor encouraged Cecil de Mille to experiment with "all-star casts," which meant without stars. But stars could not be discarded entirely. They would be retained, but equal emphasis must be placed on Shakespeare's dictum "the

play's the thing." Extravagant salaries together with the domination of stars had to be curtailed.

The next move places Zukor in the class of steel, oil or utility magnates who built up trusts by absorbing or freezing out their competitors. Famous Players-Lasky Corporation might produce the best pictures and Paramount could be equipped to distribute them. Yet if theatres refused to exhibit them, his empire built of celluloid strips would atrophy. Zukor began to acquire theatres in every state of the Union. Such a program required a vast outlay of cash. Hitherto the picture business was financed solely with its own resources. Now sedate capitalists displayed interest in the lowly entertainment of bygone days. Bankers for governments such as Kuhn, Loeb & Co. underwrote for Famous Players-Lasky Corporation a $10,000,000 bond issue, passed on to the investing public. Wall Street began to realize that motion pictures ranked fifth in the nation's business.

Agents were adding theatres to Zukor's chain. Some of their methods, particularly the bruising tactics of Atlanta's Steve Lynch, were not above reproach. Several thousand exhibitors, alarmed and inflamed, gathered in convention at Minneapolis, ready to roast Zukor alive. Into this den of lions diminutive, pock-faced Adolph Zukor came unattended. He mounted the platform and spoke for several hours. With deep emotion and artful showmanship he analyzed his company's position, its needs and objectives, with such convincing candor that half of the delegates wavered in their resentment. Some decided to collaborate with him, others sold him their theatres. The back of the opposition was broken when Zukor won over some influential directors of the North American Exhibit's Circuit, which he ultimately controlled by taking the same steps he took when he absorbed Paramount Pictures Corporation.

As the 1920 decade was drawing to a close, silent pictures reached their apex. The business world no longer looked down on the $1,250,000,000 film industry. In fact, movie bonds had become a favored investment recommended by bankers to conservative clients. In 1931 appeared *A History of the Movies* by Benjamin B. Hampton. The

writer, a former vice president of American Tobacco Company and actively engaged in motion pictures himself, says: "At the head of this business was Adolph Zukor. . . . His Paramount-Famous-Lasky Corporation worth $150,000,000 with theatre affiliations in all countries was the most powerful factor in motion pictures, and Zukor was the foremost individual in the studios and screens of the world. The product of the industry of which he had made himself the dominant individual was reaching into the lives of more men, women, and children, and coloring their thoughts and affecting their habits and customs more effectively than newspapers and books, religious institutions, and political governments. An immeasurable invisible world power rested on the desk of the Emperor of Entertainments in the lofty Paramount Building in Times Square."

The talkies were offered first to Zukor. Curiously the former explorer of the untried did not respond to the novel device that revolutionized the industry. Perhaps a sixth sense gave him a foreboding that his dominion would pass with the invasion of talking pictures. Of course, the 1929 Wall Street crash, followed by the deep depression, contributed most to the decline. He also had to install talkies, but followed the lead of William Fox and the Warners. Paramount remains one of the four octopi of picture combines, but Adolph Zukor attained his full stature with the silent films. He epitomized the heroic epoch of motion pictures.



ORIGINAL "PENNY ARCADE"—FOURTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK



1913

LEO M. FRANK

Martyr

THE OPTIMISM in Longfellow's verse: "Lives of great men all remind us we can make our lives sublime" takes no account of the tricks that fate sometimes plays upon individuals. One may set out on life's pilgrimage with the best of intentions, only to encounter destiny leading the way to a grave of ignominy. Such at least was the story of a young intellectual from Brooklyn, who ended his 32 years by hanging on a tree near Marietta, Georgia.

On a beautiful morning in May of 1913 several Atlanta detectives, like the messenger in Greek Tragedy, walked into the National Pencil Company's office and started the drama. They asked the manager to accompany them to the police station, simply for a routine check-up on the murder of a young girl whose body was found in the factory's basement. Leo M. Frank readily admitted paying Mary Phagan her wages several days earlier in his office; the factory was closed so that workers could celebrate the Southern Memorial Day dedicated to the soldiers who gave their lives for the Confederacy. The 14-year-old girl came alone and left alone. Then Frank wrote a letter to his uncle, also a Confederate veteran, living up North commenting on the an-

nual parade in which the thinning line of grey uniforms was getting shorter each year. Leo Frank was placed under arrest. Never again did he breathe other than prison air. A chain of unrelated circumstances gradually closed around him, ever drawing tighter about his neck the hempen noose which was finally pulled, not by a sheriff, but by 25 mobsters.

The stage was set in a milieu that fate could utilize; events were ready to move as the curtain rose on that fateful dawn. The Civil War and Reconstruction had unleased against Yankees a fury that had not yet abated. The Populist Movement of the 1890's had stirred agrarian and proletarian resentment against capitalist industry. Low wages in factories angered labor. Church doctrine had nourished a stereotype Jew in the image of Judas Iscariot, all the while ignoring the Judaic strain in the other eleven Apostles and their Master.

Public opinion was largely guided by such entrenched dailies as the *Constitution* or *Atlanta Journal*. But the *Atlanta Georgian,* a newcomer of the Hearst chain, had to rely on yellow journalism to buck the prestige commanded by well established competitors. The favorite strategy in the Hearst tradition called for goading the Police Department by chastising it for its indolence, its lack of integrity and general inefficiency. Immediately the *Georgian* sniffed something sensational wrapped up in the murder. Again the police would bungle, bribed perhaps by the wealthy uncle of the suspect. The more respectable newspapers, unwilling to start a controversy with the Hearst organ, either maintained discreet silence or repeated the inflammatory innuendoes, or half-truths, or downright lies. The screaming headlines managed to create a villain for their mystery. What was more natural than for the manager of a factory to seduce the young girls working in the plant? Something went wrong this time and the seducer had to kill Mary Phagan lest she betray the secret of her amour with the boss, a respectable married man.

The flaming headlines were having their effect on the police. Why scurry around to find a culprit when they had a scapegoat handy and already locked up in the hoosegow? Any detective force worth its

salt can make a case airtight. But what about the Negro sweeper who was in the basement at 3:30 in the morning when the murder was committed? Jim Conley had a criminal record and had served time. Towards him the finger of suspicion pointed more incriminatingly than against Leo Frank. The Georgian custom took care of a Negro rapist without bothering about a trial. But the entire country seemed pretty weary of lynchings in Georgia, which had the highest rate in the United States. Conley could be useful as an accessory before or after the fact. He might even be star witness for the state. Yet why should a well-behaved business man, fond of books, bearing an excellent reputation, married into a prominent local family, commit murder? He appeared far too intelligent to believe he might escape prosecution. Nor did the honor student of Cornell University drink. Besides, Jews are virtually unknown as murderers, even for adequate provocation.

Suggestions came from detectives with experience in the underworld. In the Victorian Age it was bad morals and worse manners to mention sexual perversion. But the writings of Havelock Ellis or Kraft-Ebbing began circulating into the reading public and even penetrating police circles. The world of science was startled and fascinated by the theories of Sigmund Freud as to libidos, the Oedipus Complex, the sex drive and perverse desires imbedded in human frailty. It became highly possible for an apparently gentle and peaceful husband or father to harbor perversions that could transform him from a Dr. Jekyll to a Mr. Hyde. The Atlanta police with its power and resources determined to present a case that must not miss fire nor boomerang. The job was done thoroughly.

The trial lasted thirty days and caused considerable comment. The Solicitor General of Fulton County soon realized that successful prosecution would bring him national fame. Hugh M. Dorsey, a mediocre provincial lawyer, did himself proud. His summing up lasted several hours. Nothing telling was omitted, not even the statement that while Jews produced the highest and most spiritual types of men, they also can sink to the lowest depth of human depravity. The

mob crowded the court room and overflowed into the streets. They applauded the prosecution and jeered the defense lawyers. The trial was closing on Saturday in a tense atmosphere of possible bloodshed. Editors urged the Court to adjourn over the weekend. Anxiously the Judge conferred with the Chief of Police and the Colonel of the Fifth Georgia Regiment in the presence of the jury. He then advised the defense lawyers to be absent with the accused from the court room when the jury brought in the verdict. The court officials received messages; "Hang the Jew or we will hang you." When the first juror announced "Guilty" pandemonium broke loose in the court room and spread to the mob in the streets below. The Judge had difficulty hearing the remaining jurors answering ten feet away. The jury found Leo Frank guilty. The Judge sentenced him to hang.

Normally when the mob's passion subsides, reason and justice return, at least in high places. But a Nemesis seemed to pursue Leo Frank. A motion for a new trial was filed. Judge Roan who presided at the trial declared himself not satisfied as to the guilt of the prisoner. Yet he refused to grant a new trial. The Supreme Court of Georgia reviewed the case, expressed doubt and affirmed the conviction, with two of the six Justices dissenting. The Federal District Court of Georgia dismissed the Writ of Habeas Corpus, yet declared doubt as to the guilt of the defendant. Finally a Writ of Error was denied by a divided United States Supreme Court though two if its most distinguished members dissented. Charles Evans Hughes, later a candidate for President and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, favored the Writ. Oliver Wendell Holmes, one of the ablest judges ever to sit on this tribunal, wrote in his opinion "Mob law does not become due process of law by securing the assent of a terrorized jury. . . . we think the presumption overwhelming that the jury responded to the passions of the mob." Seven years later the U. S. Supreme Court adopted in the case of Moore vs. Dempsey, 261 US 86, the very principles laid down in the dissenting opinion of Justices Hughes and Holmes. This became the law of the land, but Leo Frank lay "a'mouldering in the grave."

An appeal ordinarily serves to calm the excitement aroused in the

mob. But again implacable fate intervened—this time in the form of a literary demagogue whose pen was dipped in vitriol. He whipped up emotions in the entire state to white heat. The howling mob of the Atlanta court room increased and spread until Georgia virtually became a raging multitude screaming for the blood of its victim. Sanity did not return until Leo Frank was lying in the Atlanta morgue viewed by thousands whose blood lust was finally appeased.

Thomas E. Watson began his career with the Populist Party in revolt against industrialist-capitalist society as represented by the Trusts, Wall Street and both major political parties. The Populist Movement petered out and Watson, ambitious for power, found himself gradually becoming an isolated has-been on his Georgia farm. His marked literary gifts enabled him to edit a New York magazine that had national circulation. Differences with the owner caused him to resign and start his own publication. Early leanings towards proletarian and tenant-farmers' betterment, for political rights to the Negro, had all but evaporated. His new White Supremacy convictions justified the lynching of Negroes. Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine started in 1910 and carried on a vicious crusade against Catholicism, its hierarchy and Papacy, its doctrines and practices. He did not refrain from such absurd yet incendiary charges that priests were carrying on orgies in monasteries and convents, at the same time storing them with arms for attack. Yet the magazine was not a successful venture. The publisher found himself drifting, his influence on the wane and the power so dear to his heart disappearing.

For about a year after Frank's arrest Tom Watson remained silent. During the trial he remarked to a friend his surprise that the defense attorneys did not move for a change of venue. "It would be like trying a rat before the old cat and a litter of her kittens." The trial with its aftermath of appeals stirred up the whole country; the Frank case was sharing the front page with war news. Outside the state Frank was generally regarded as innocent. At the trial he had testified voluntarily, since under Georgia law the defendant on trial for murder is not sworn in. Frank's eloquent and convincing presentation caused

thousands to feel that the verdict represented a miscarriage of justice. Sectional prejudice was absent since the Legislatures of Texas and Tennessee passed resolutions that his life be spared. Watson began to realize the political dynamite imbedded in the case. Perhaps he sensed its explosive nature from the very beginning. He claimed to have rejected a $5,000 fee to defend Frank. Yet he declined to assist the prosecution. Evidently he awaited the opportunity to extract the best political capital. It came quite soon.

The decent elements in Georgia reacted to outside opinion. Their sentiments were reflected in the editorial of the *Atlanta Journal* which asked for a new trial. Hoke Smith, the former Secretary of the Interior in Cleveland's Cabinet supposedly had an interest in the paper. While Governor, Smith had refused to pardon a Watson adherent convicted of murder. This was Watson's cue. Immediately he charged Smith with dragging the Frank case into Politics. He commenced and for more than a year continued a barrage against "the lecherous Jew . . . the lascivious pervert, guilty of the crime that caused the Almighty to blast the Cities of the Plain." Over and over again Watson's *Jeffersonian* reviewed the Prosecution's version and reiterated the torn dress "spotted with virginal blood," the tuft of hair, the crumbled body of Mary Phagan, the gentile girl without glamour or wealth or fashion who had no millionaire uncle to raise $50,000 for her. With cynical indifference to honesty and fairness he used rumors and poisonous slander, distorted the half truths and appealed to race prejudice, Southern chivalry, State pride, class resentment.

The date of the execution was finally set for June 22, 1915. All eyes were now directed to the Governor, the only person on earth with power to prevent the hanging. His term would expire the day before the execution, and John M. Slaton had received 10,000 requests from Georgians to commute the sentence. Judge Roan, who presided at the trial, also petitioned for commutation. It was a dramatic decision to make. Blood was boiling throughout the state and the mob was threatening violence to the Chief Executive if he dared to interfere

with the execution. But the Governor of Georgia rose to the high responsibility of his office. He thought Frank innocent and obeyed the voice of conscience regardless of consequences. On the day before his term expired, John M. Slaton signed the order which commuted the sentence of Leo M. Frank to life imprisonment.

The life of Governor Slaton was now in danger. A strong military detachment had to guard the home of the exceptionally popular Chief Executive who had been elected by one of the largest majorities ever given to a Georgia governor. Militia had to conduct him to inaugurate the next governor, and after the ceremony an attempt was made upon his life. After dark, a mob of 5,000 marched to Slaton's home armed with antiquated revolvers, hatchets, knives, pistols, some modern shotguns and a basket of dynamite. The mob attacked and wounded 16 soldiers. Slaton left for California and stayed away almost a year, virtually an exile.

The next incident marks the nadir of Tom Watson's career when he stooped to the lowest form of demagoguery. The *Jeffersonian* reeked with incitements that lashed the mob to fury such as: "Our little girl—ours by the eternal God! has been pursued to a hideous death and bloody grave by *this filthy perverted Jew of New York*." The paper reached the Penitentiary and caused a half-demented convict named Creen to slash Frank's throat near the jugular vein while asleep. Watson urged a petition to pardon Creen. On August 12, 1915, he wrote in his paper "The next Leo Frank case in Georgia will never reach the court house. The next Jew who does what Frank did is going to get exactly the same thing that we give to Negro rapists."

Four days later 25 men entered the State Farm Prison. They took out Leo Frank, drove 175 miles in eight cars, and hanged him near Marietta, the home of Mary Phagan. To the very end Frank maintained his innocence. Some consider this lynching the boldest act in Southern history. But its audacity might be questioned if we consider that no attempt was made to find the lynchers. Neither the Sheriff nor the prison guard were ever reprimanded. Some one stomped a heel in the dead man's face, and the body was displayed in the morgue to

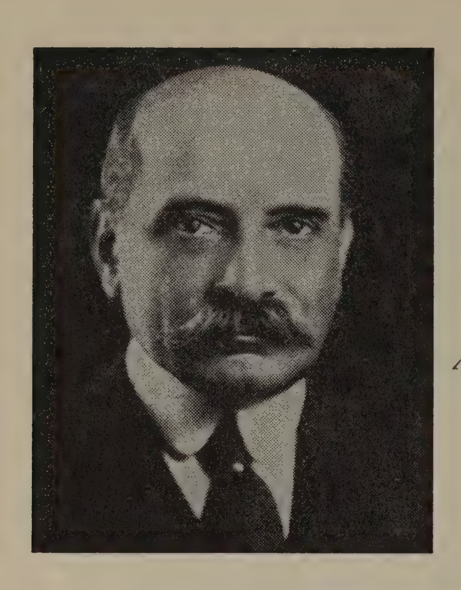
the sadistic delight of 15,000 men, women and children sightseers. Watson then wrote a lengthy justification of lynching based on the Biblical text: "the voice of the people is the voice of God."

Tom Watson stooped to the lowest devices for inciting the masses against Leo Frank, his lawyers and relatives, and incidentally against "Jew money out to free the convicted libertine." Yet in his maligning propaganda he did not resort to all-out anti-Semitism, as in his vituperative crusade against the Catholic Church. He whipped up a strong odium against Jews living in every town of Georgia. Yet there were no incidents, no attacks, no hostile demonstrations. Watson himself never displayed anti-Jewish animosity before the Frank case, nor did he indulge in Jew-baiting after the affair closed. One must conclude that the unscrupulous firebrand utilized the Frank case simply to regain his lost political prestige. His calculations proved correct. In the year following the lynching the entire state ticket backed by Watson was elected. The public prosecutor, Hugh M. Dorsey, was swept into the Governor's mansion. Four years later Watson himself was sent to the U. S. Senate. The statue of the former radical Populist and discredited politician now stands on the lawn of the State capitol among the eminent Georgians.

The public conscience in Georgia does not rest quite easy. Ten years after Frank's death, a convict at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary allegedly confessed to the crime and implicated Jim Conley, the chief witness against Frank. Now and then prominent citizens express a troubled doubt. Judge Arthur G. Powell in his book *I Can Go Home Again,* published in 1943, wrote unequivocally that Frank was innocent. A surprising statement follows: that he knew the true murderer of Mary Phagan but could not divulge the secret, which was a privileged communication to him as an attorney. He would, however, leave a sealed statement to be opened "after certain deaths occur." These declarations have more than ordinary significance, since Judge Powell was an intimate friend of Leonard S. Roan, the Judge who tried the Frank case. Powell further discloses that Roan believed in Frank's innocence and was on the verge of granting a new trial.

He intimates that Roan's mind snapped as a result of the trial. The Judge ended his days in a mental asylum.

The Frank case left a weird legacy to America. During the hysteria that raged in the mid-summer of 1915 at the time of the hanging near Marietta, a group met on top of Stone Mountain ten miles out of Atlanta. At midnight an eerie ceremony resurrected the Ku Klux Klan, disbanded since the Reconstruction of the South had ended. The revived Klan released and maintained the spirit of intolerance, hate, ignorance, violence, injustice and malice that brought about the martyrdom of Leo M. Frank.



1914

PAUL M. WARBURG

A Father of the Federal Reserve

STEALTHILY A RAILROAD CAR, privately chartered, slipped out of New York carrying a U. S. Senator, an official of the Treasury and three prominent bankers, ostensibly on a duck hunt. The train stopped at Brunswick, Georgia, and a small boat landed them on Jekyl Island, deserted except by the servitors of the hunting club. The Senator cautioned everyone to keep his name secret, even from the servants. One of the group suggested calling each other by his first name, unusual in the early 20th Century when formal Victorian ceremony still clung to manners, even in the more boisterous American scene. Thus aged Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, dictator of the U. S. Senate, became simply "Nelson." Assistant Secretary of the Treasury A. Piatt Andrew shrank to mere "Piatt" and Henry P. Davison of J. P. Morgan & Co. was familiarly called "Harry." The imposing president of the National City Bank, the largest in the land, Frank A. Vanderlip, forthwith became "Frank" and Paul M. Warburg of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. was addressed "Paul."

The reason for such secrecy? The country, still under the shock of the 1907 panic, awaited the findings of the Aldrich Commission,

appointed to recommend legislation that would prevent money stringencies allegedly brought on by manipulations of bankers and the operations of Wall Street speculators. The Commission headed by Senator Aldrich assembled a galaxy of experts and visited Europe to study its various financial structures. The investigators had done a thorough research job, perhaps too thorough, and presented their findings in 40 printed tomes. Aldrich knew that technical information could be quickly assimilated only by experts in finance. The lawmakers were too busy to inform themselves on currency and banking in time to draft proper legislation. He needed the judgment and guidance of practical bankers with the knowledge of American economy to enact monetary measures that would stand the test of usage.

But what was a foreigner doing in this inner clique, among the oracles of American banking and finance? Having come over in 1902, Paul M. Warburg still spoke halting English with a Teutonic accent; he was as yet not even a naturalized citizen. Reserved, shy in his retiring modesty, Warburg was certainly no ambitious go-getter elbowing his way to power and prominence. But the banking fraternity recognized in him a unique combination of financier and scholar, a theorist yet scientifically trained in all the practical phases of banking. Obviously the monetary, currency system that periodically brought on panics, then depressions followed by periods of prosperity, needed revision. And who had more qualifications to offer salutary reforms? Back in January 1907 Paul Warburg could in his essay *Defects and Needs of our Banking System* write:

> "The United States is at about the same point that had been reached in Europe at the time of the Medicis. We have been shown bricks of the time of Hammurabi, the Babylonian monarch, evidencing the sale of a crop and similar transactions, and I am inclined to believe that it was as easy to transfer the ownership of these bricks from one person to another as it is today for an American bank to realize upon its discounted paper, if indeed it was not easier."

The Warburgs stand out among the distinguished Jewish families. For centuries they engaged in the commerce and banking of Europe, besides following numerous other pursuits. One of their reputed ancestors, Anselmo del Banco, a resolute and wealthy leader, succeeded in delaying the imposition of the Ghetto in Venice early in the 16th century. A branch migrated from Italy to Germany and assumed the name Warburg from the town in Westphalia by that name. Many achieved distinction in different countries. In 1667 Jacob Samuel Warburg died in Altona, which is a short distance from Hamburg. The firm of Warburg had opened its bank of Hamburg in the 18th century.

Pursuing the Jewish tradition of acquiring learning Paul graduated at 18 from the Real-Gymnasium, which is equal to two years of an American college course. The young student would perhaps have preferred continuing at the University, but the Warburgs had a career at the bank awaiting their son and kinsman. German thoroughness prescribed a period of apprenticeship for profession, commerce or handicraft. To become a qualified financier one should also know the intricacies of merchandising, shipping and exporting. For two years Paul received a thorough drilling in menial tasks on the busy polyglot docks of Hamburg.

Next he spent two years in England, the then world financial center, and for several months rounded out his experience in a London broker's office learning the profits and pitfalls of stock speculation. In France he widened his knowledge of solid banking. After finishing his education in the ancestral bank at Hamburg, he went off on a world tour which included India, China and Japan. In New York he met a daughter of Solomon Loeb of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and married her two years later. A trained banker, cosmopolitan in viewpoint, and thoroughly drilled in domestic and international financial operations, Paul M. Warburg was admitted into the Hamburg firm founded by his great grandfather.

At home and completely integrated into the life, culture, interests and commerce of Hamburg, Paul Warburg became a member of the local legislative body and served on the arbitration court for settling

mercantile disputes. Rapidly emerging a recognized power in the financial district, he had no thought of leaving his birthplace despite some underground rumblings of anti-Semitism that no one took too seriously. But his wife's parents suffered from bad health and desired to have their daughter near them. Strongly urged by his in-laws and offered a flattering partnership in Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Paul Warburg finally yielded to their pleading and settled in New York.

The invitation of tough Senator Aldrich did not stem from sentiment or favoritism. Kuhn, Loeb & Co. had for a generation performed gigantic feats in financing vast enterprises. The reorganization of the Union Pacific with E. H. Harriman had won the admiration of Wall Street moguls. Assisting the Pennsylvania Railroad in penetrating Manhattan through a tube under the Hudson River appealed to popular imagination. Paul Warburg was in the midst of carrying out these and similar exploits.

During the 10 days of intensive day and night work on Jekyl Island, Warburg's colleagues could observe at first hand the wide knowledge and sound judgment they had read in his articles on the need of reform in American currency and banking. Something was obviously wrong in a system that permitted the temporary rise of call money to over 20 per cent on Wall Street when California banks might be bursting at the same time with an oversupply of ready cash. Banks throughout the land held promissory notes frozen in their vaults, yet sound paper might be rediscounted at some national institution and liquid funds could circulate in trade channels to the advantage of business all over the country. About 20,000 state and national banks were operating independently without overall direction or supervision. To Warburg a portent of disaster lurked in such a situation.

Senator Aldrich was quite ill, yet a report to the Senate had to be filed. Vanderlip, Davison and Warburg joined him in Washington and helped in writing the message that accompanied the report. Based on the discussion on Jekyl Island, a bill was introduced in the Democratic Congress during the Taft administration. It sought to establish a large privately owned central bank with 15 branches. Cen-

tralized control ran contrary to Democratic tradition since Andrew Jackson smashed the Bank of United States by refusing to renew its charter in 1836. The Aldrich bill was shelved in the House of Representatives.

As a European, Paul Warburg came quite naturally by the conviction that a central organization should direct the banking system of a nation, regualte currency and credits, and restrain speculation. In Germany the Reichsbank had such powers. He had witnessed the successful operation of the Bank of England in the world's financial center. The Banque de France exercised similar functions. Then why should the United States not have a similar institution?

On becoming naturalized Paul Warburg leaned towards the Republicans, the party of his friends and associates. Yet when the Democrats took over the administration, he was willing to work with the leaders in Congress and contribute his experience, his knowledge and research. But he did not insist upon the pedantic application of his proposals. Trained to recognize realities, he perceived that even special requirements had to harmonize with the history, traditions and ideals of a people. In a vast democratic country the perfect system could not be attained in a single leap. It might be necessary to modify certain fixed rules, since the compromising of conflicting interests was essential in successful government. Time would bring about the desirable changes as experience demonstrated their necessity.

On December 23, 1913 the Glass-Owen Federal Reserve Act went into effect. It was not the complete realization of Warburg's plan, yet his ideas are in substance reflected in its preamble: "To provide for the establishment of Federal Reserve Banks, to furnish an elastic currency, to afford means of rediscounting commercial paper, to establish a more effective supervision of banking in the United States, and for other purposes."

The Act represented a careful compromise in that the 12 Reserve Banks became centralized each in its own district, yet the system remained decentralized as to the country at large. Each branch became the bank that serviced the national or state banks of its district in the same manner as the individual institutions served their depositors.

The entire system was governed by the Federal Reserve Board consisting of eight members, of whom two were government officials. The Board could supervise the Federal Reserve Banks, and loosen or tighten credit by raising or reducing discount rates. Yet through the system no individual or corporation could become too powerful in finance or in government. The Federal Reserve was a tremendous advance on old banking methods and proved a powerful and effective agency in meeting the unprecedented problems that arose out of the First World War. Economists wonder how victory would have been achieved without the Federal Reserve System.

Recognition of the services rendered in drafting the act impelled Woodrow Wilson to name Paul M. Warburg a member of the first Federal Reserve Board. The recent alien, sensitive and shy, had to endure for two days the stiff grilling of hostile Senators who distrusted bankers, especially those with Wall Street connections. His giving up of $500,000 in annual income and resigning from all corporations for a $12,000 salary was in itself something to arouse Senatorial suspicion. Evidently the lawmakers were convinced of his rectitude; after a two-month investigation they confirmed the appointment.

Warburg's service on the Board for four years coincided with the momentous war period. The Board members had to initiate rules and procedures that would become precedents for the future. They were confronted with untried situations in recommending the vast loans for financing the war effort. His labors were appreciated when the Board elected him vice chairman for the last two years. President Wilson was ready to nominate him for another term, but the war had whipped up intense bitterness against German-Americans, to whom Theodore Roosevelt applied the stinging epithet "hypenated Americans." Warburg feeling that his reappointment would excite zenophobic criticism embarrassing to the President, declined renomination. Yet his interest in the Federal Reserve did not diminish. He served on the Advisory Council of the Board for five years and as its president from 1924 to 1926.

On resuming private life Paul Warburg apparently did not seek

to build up a great private fortune. Instead of rejoining Kuhn, Loeb & Co., he founded the International Acceptance Bank and continued his studies, his civic and cultural interests. While a liberal contributor to Jewish philanthropy, he never aspired to a place in the leadership held by his brother, Felix M. Warburg, after the death of Jacob H. Schiff. In fact his attachment to Jewish causes was formal and subordinate to his affiliations with the National Child Labor Committee, the Institute of Musical Art, the Juilliard School of Music, the Academy of Political Science, the Tuskegee Institute, the Council on Foreign Relations.

Actively in touch with industrial conditions as Chairman of the Economic Commission of the American Bankers Association, he was virtually the only financial authority to warn the public of the impending danger from overspeculation in Wall Street. In March 1929 he foresaw the crash of the stock market that followed in November. Tribute to his understanding of basic economic factors responsible for the fantastic boom and catastrophic bust is paid by the *New Republic*. This caustic critic of bankers in its issue of January 21, 1931 analyzes and approves a speech by Warburg, as follows:

> "While industry has been learning to increase its production by leaps and bounds, more and more barriers have been thrown in the way of the distribution of the goods produced—by tariffs, valorization schemes, cartels, monopolies and other devices to keep prices high. High prices restricted consumption and encouraged more production.
>
> "When the purchasing power of domestic consumers threatened to become exhausted it was revived by the stimulant of installment plans, and buyers abroad, at the end of their tether, were assisted by foreign loans.' Inflation of credit for a time maintained production at existing price levels. But eventually credit came to its end as a substitute for the incomes which would have furnished the necessary purchasing power. 'Production overwhelmed manipulations. Prices, overcoming artificial dams, began to seek their own levels.' "

By 1932 the 64 year old Paul M. Warburg was dead. Formerly universities had conferred honorary degrees upon him and now the most eminent uttered their eulogies. But unexpected praise came from the *Nation,* a publication without affection for wealth or privilege, in its obituary: "No one in a similar influential position excelled Mr. Warburg in his feeling of responsibility to the public," it declared. "Never was there a man who recognized more keenly the principle that wealth, like nobility, obliges. His generosity was without stint; his philanthropy ranges over the world, and it was always intelligent, constructive, and far-sighted. A patron of arts, he never ceased to do what he could to advance the cultural development of the United States. There is hardly an office in this country which he could not have filled with distinction. As it was, his modesty made him shun proferred public contacts for which many another would have sought in vain. A leader among American Jews, it can truthfully be said of him that he set for his race in America an unsurpassable example of public service."



GLOSSARY

Adonoi Elohim	The Lord God in the Old Testament.
Adjunta	Governing Council of a synagogue among Spanish-Portuguese Jews.
Am Haarez	A peasant, an ignoramus.
Am Olam	The eternal people. Name of an organization in Russia to promote Jewish agricultural colonies.
Ark	The synagogue cabinet in which the scrolls of the Torah are kept.
Attentat	Violent deed to call attention to injustice.
Aufklärung	Era of enlightenment ushered in by the 18th century age or reason.
Baale batim	Bourgeoisie heads of households.
Badchan	A minstrel who improvised ad. lib. rhymes at weddings.
Bête noir	Black beast.
Beth Din	Rabbinical Court competent to decide Jewish law.
Beth Hamidrash Hagodol	Great House of Study, Name of New York Synagogue.
Firman	Turkish Sultan's decree.
Furor Teutonicus	German fury.
Galut	Diaspora, exile.
Gaon im	Sage of great learning and deep originality. Singular and plural.
Gehenna	Hebrew name of a burning hell.
Gemeinde	A congregation or organized group.
Genizah	A treasure of sacred literature in fragments buried under a synagogue in Cairo.
Goyim	Nations, also gentiles.
Hanukah	Feast of lights celebrating the Maccabean victory over Antiochus.

Hassid-im	A sect in 18th century Poland founded by Israel Bal Shem Tov.
Haskalah	The movement among Russian Jews for secular culture in lieu of exclusive Rabbinical learning.
Hazan	Chanter of prayers in the synagogue.
Heder	Hebrew Elementary School.
Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums	Academy for higher Jewish learning, formerly in Berlin.
Karobka	A tax in Czarist Russia on kosher slaughtered meat or fowl to be used for public purposes.
Kashruth	The kosher cult.
Kehillah	A community council.
Kosher	Meat or fowl ritually slaughtered and prepared for use by pious Jews.
Koved	Honor or respect.
Liederbuch	Book of songs.
Luftmenschen	People without occupation living by their wits.
Maggid	Preacher, pulpiteer.
Marranos	Professing Christians practicing Judaism secretly in Spain and Portugal.
Maskillim	Advocates of secular culture as against exclusive Rabbinical learning.
Mein Ingele	My little boy.
Menorah	Seven-ranched candlestick.
Meshumed	Convert and renegade.
Mikveh Israel	Hope of Israel. Congregation in Philadelphia.
Minyan	Quorum of ten Jewish males qualified to conduct services as a congregation.
Mitzvos	Acts of merit performed as religious duties.
Musar	A sermon exhorting to moral and religious living.
Muzhiks	Russian peasants.
Pogrom	A massacre of Jews in Czarist Russia.
Purim	Feast commemorating Queen Esther's triumph over Haman.
Rav ha Kolel	Chief Rabbi.
Rosh Hashana	Jewish New Year.

Sanhedrin	Members of the Council in ancient Jerusalem.
Sanhedrion	A Council in ancient Jerusalem that functioned as a religious synod, legislature and supreme court.
Seder	Supper on Passover eve celebrating the exodus out of Egypt.
Sephardi—m	Jews originally of the Spanish peninsula or long settled in the Mediterranean perimeter.
Shearith Israel	Remnant of Israel. Name of the oldest synagogue in America.
Sheymes	Fragments of prayer books or sacred literature to be buried to avoid desecration.
Shofar	Ram's horn sounded in synagogue on the New Year.
Shohet	Slaughterer of cattle or fowl in accordance with Jewish law.
Shovuos	Feast of Weeks in memory of proclaiming the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai.
Shulchan Aruch	Code of Talmudic laws drafted by Joseph Caro.
Sidur	Prayer book.
Smicha	Ordination of Rabbis.
Talith	A prayer shawl.
Talmud	24 tractates of commentaries on Jewish law.
Torah	The Old Testament, also the Five Books of Moses.
Tzadick	A saint.
Ukase	Russian Czar's decree.
Verein	A society or organization.
Yahrzeit	Anniversary in memory of dead relatives.
Yarmulka	A skull cap.
Yeshivah	An academy for advanced Rabbinical learning.
Yold	A prosaic philistine devoid of musical appreciation.
Yom Kippur	Day of Atonement. Hebrew fast day.

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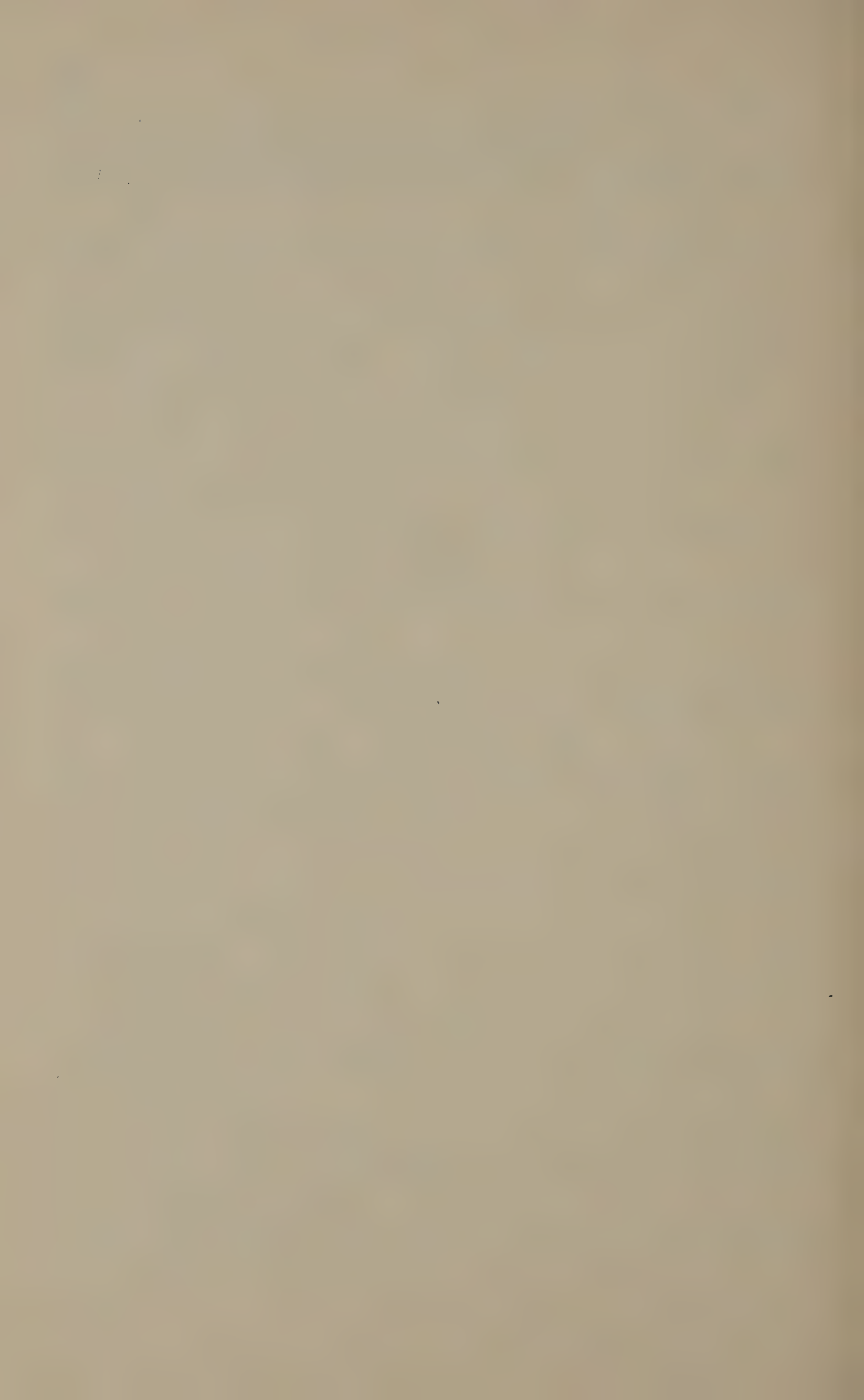
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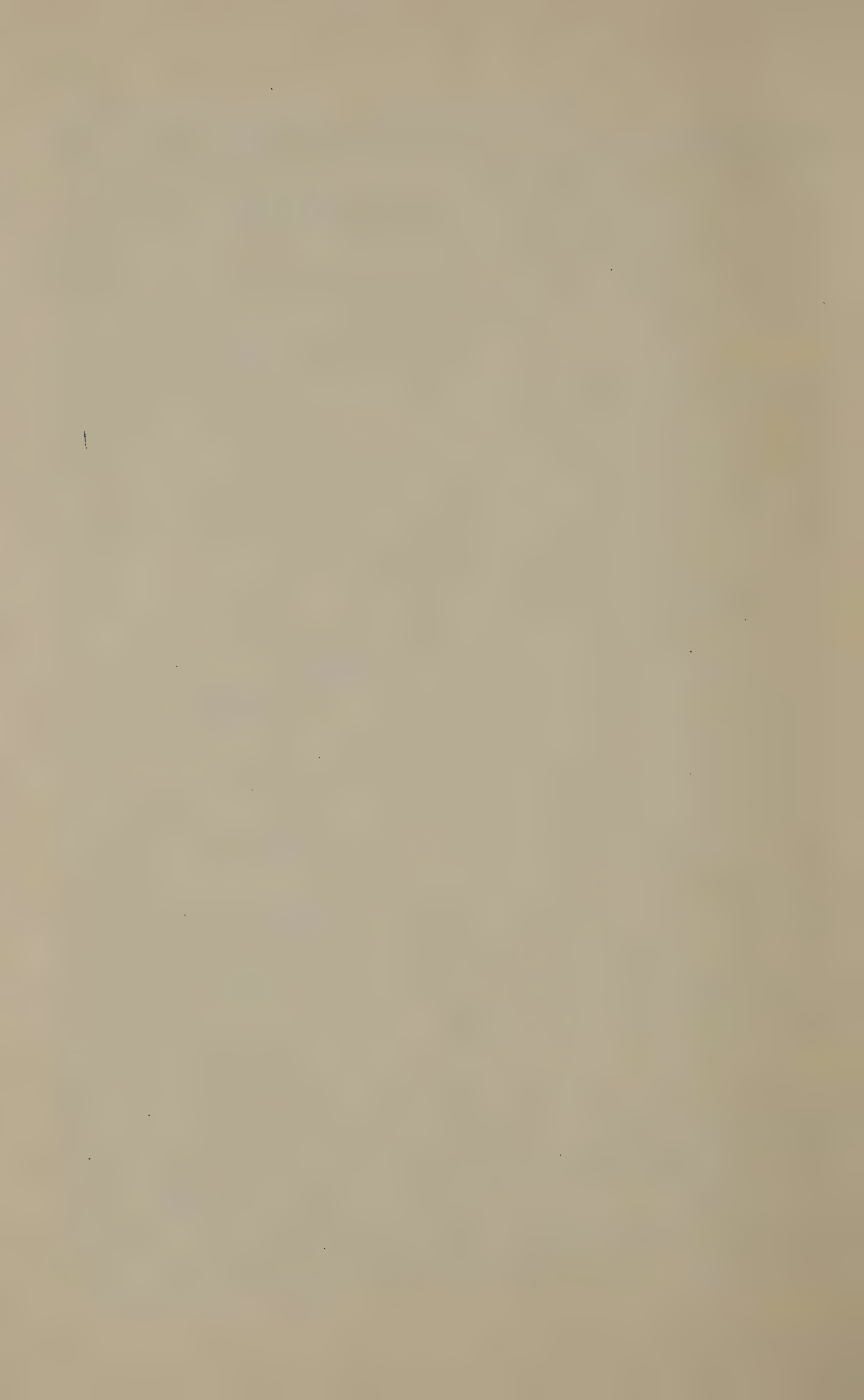
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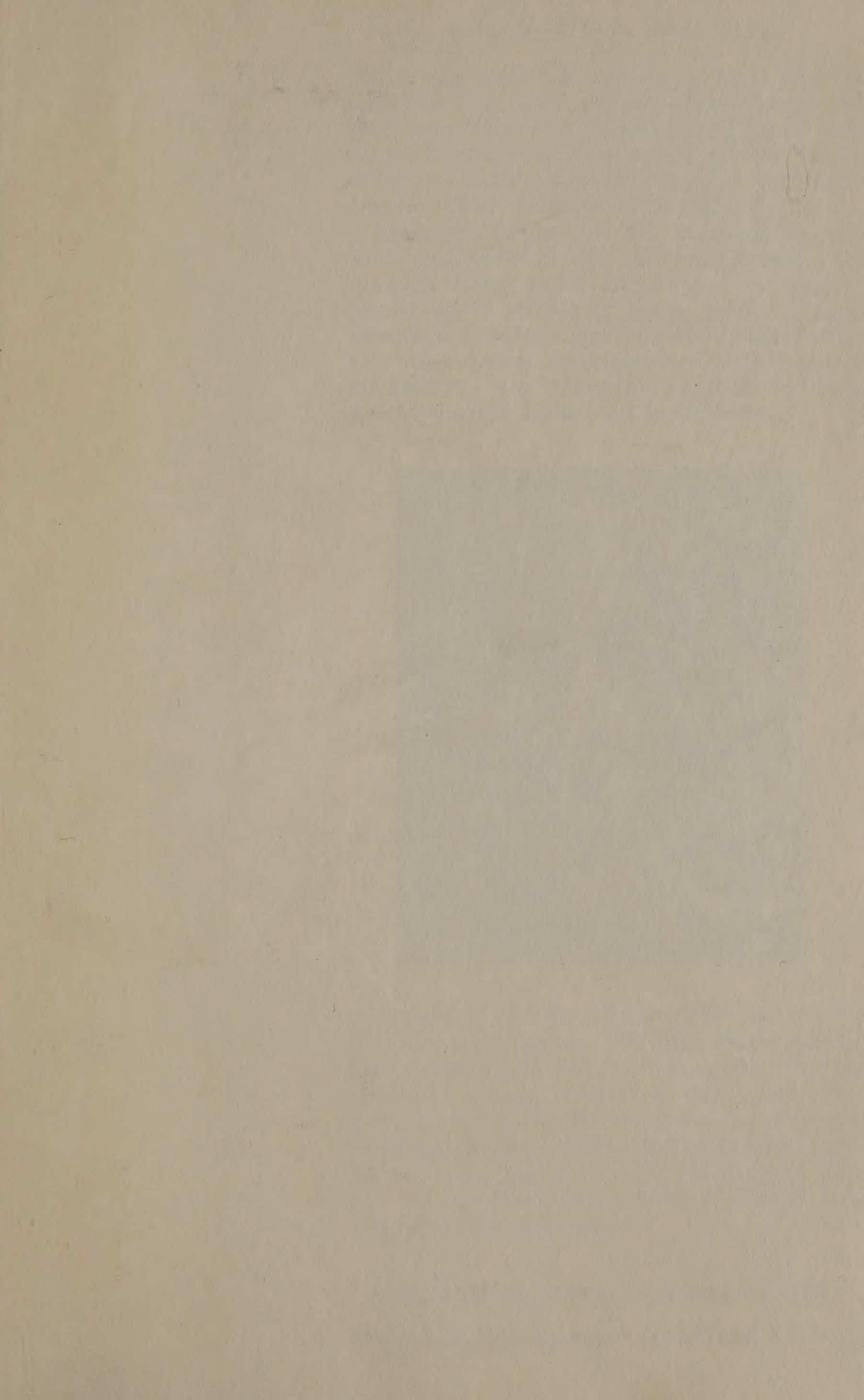
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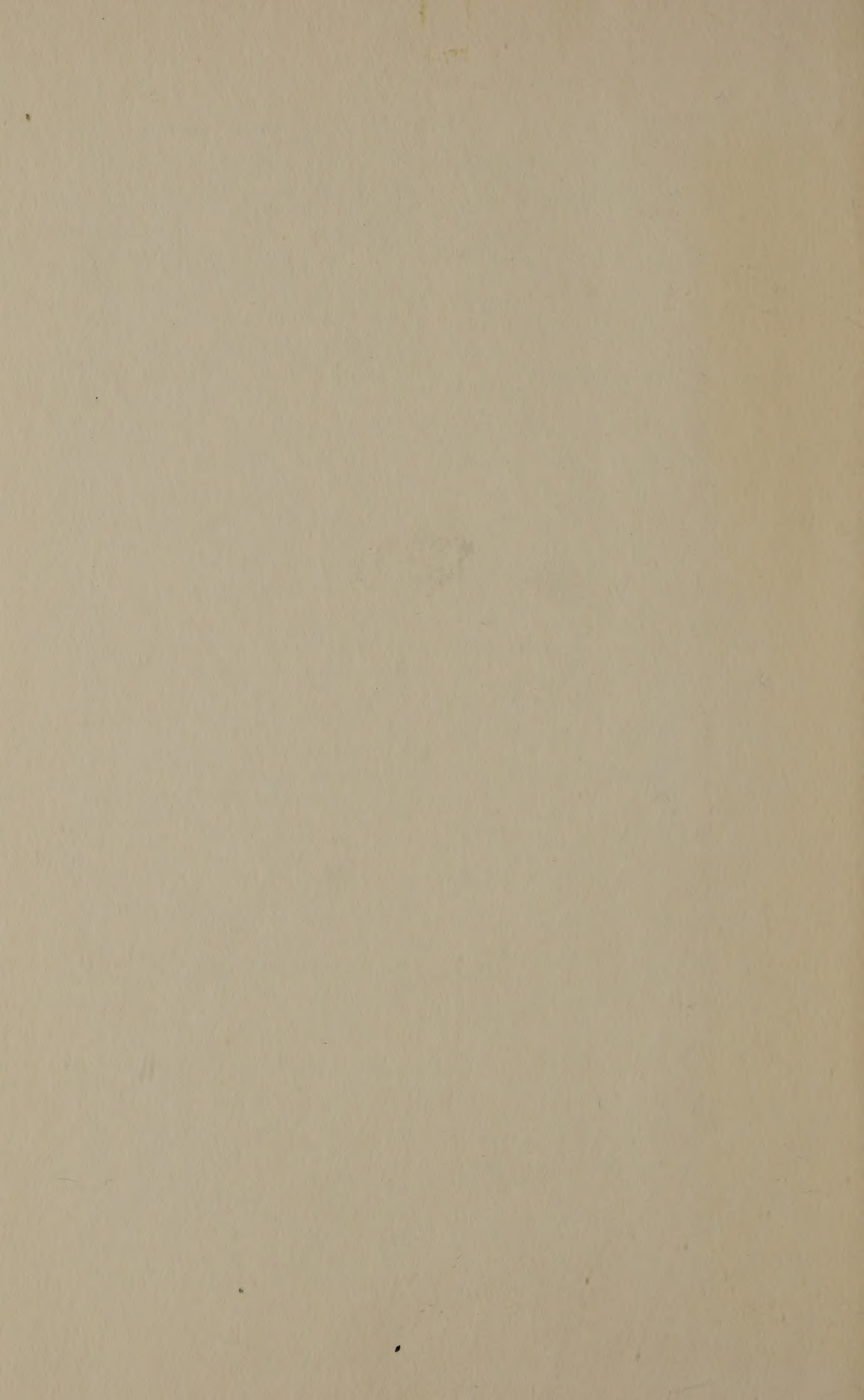
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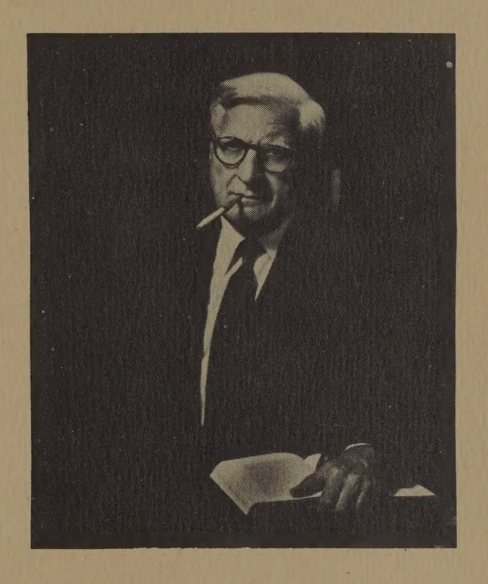




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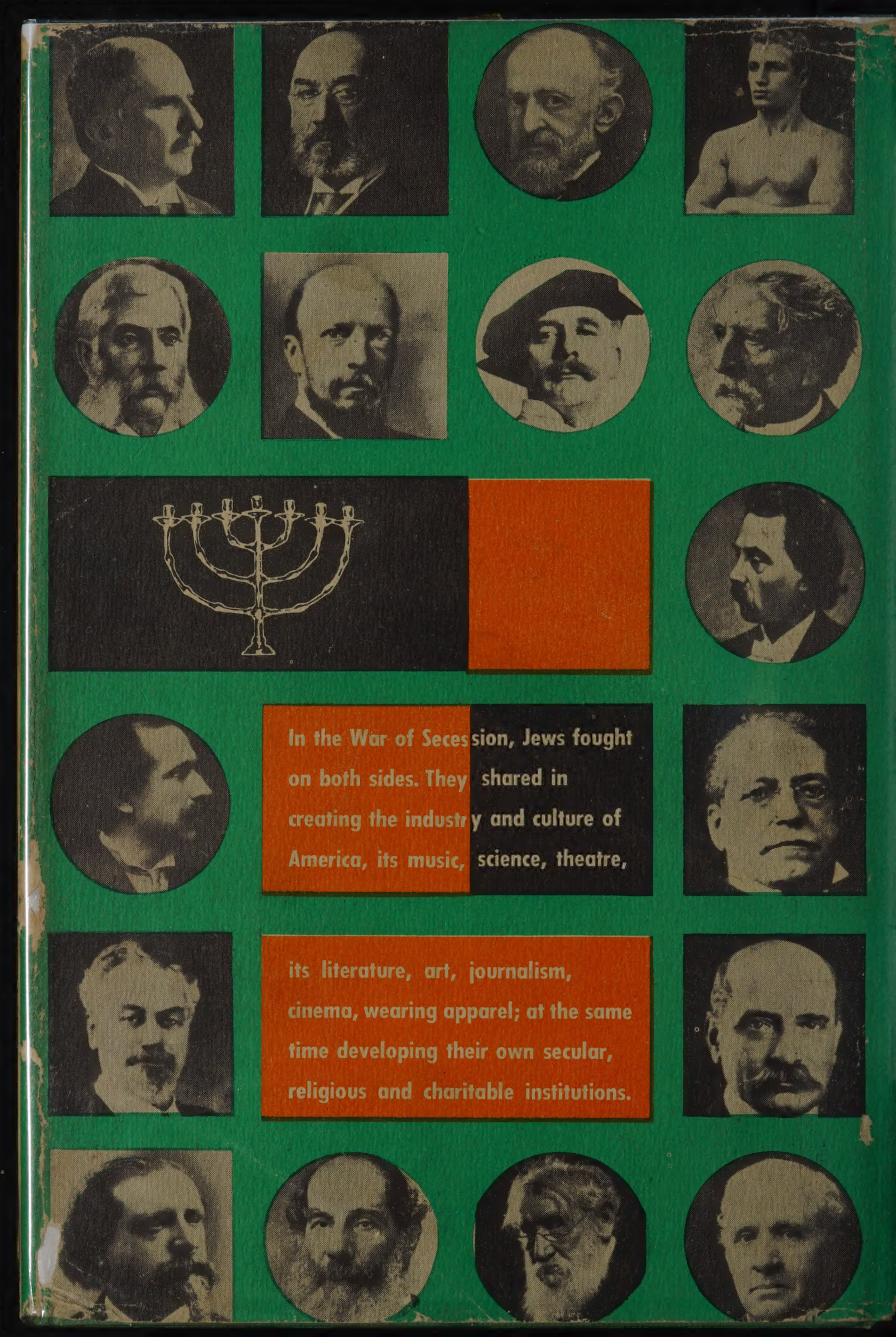
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